FBIS **DAILY REPORT**

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

20 FEBRUARY 1986

King Husayn Speech

Jordan cannot continue to "coordinate politically" with the PLO leaders until such time as "their word becomes their bond, characterized by commitment, credibility and constancy," Jordan's King Husayn announced in an address to the nation broadcast by Amman television 19 February. The PLO leaders had "surprised" Jordan by their refusal to accept UN Security Council Resolution 242 in exchange for U.S. assurances which reflected a "significant change in the U.S. position in favor of the PLO," the king said. Jordan had assumed the PLO would accept the U.S. assurances, contained in a written commitment to accept PLO participation at an international conference when it is clearly on the public record that the PLO has accepted Resolutions 242 and 338, is prepared to negotiate with Israel, and has renounced terrorism. However, the PLO leaders insisted on their demand that the United States recognize Palestinian self-determination in return for the PLO's acceptance of Resolution 242, he noted, and PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat left Amman 7 February still adhering to this position. The latest phase of political action with the PLO thus ended differently from what Jordan had hoped for, Husayn stressed, though he added that the principles of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord will still be the basis of relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples "with regard to equality of rights and obligations."

Israeli Reaction

Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres reacted favorably to King Husayn's speech, IDF radio reported, noting Peres' view that Husayn was acknowledging that the PLO is an obstacle to peace. In a Jerusalem television interview, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin said the king's remarks could provide a "historic opportunity" for the inhabitants of the occupied territories to rid themselves of the PLO and join Husayn in a negotiating process with Israel and without the PLO.

Lebanon

An Islamic Resistance spokesman informed the Beirut office of the UAE paper *AL-ITTIHAD* that his organization has carried out its threat to execute one of the two Israeli hostages, Beirut radio announced during the evening of 19 February. Jerusalem radio subsequently disclosed that the IDF would continue searching 16 Shi'ite villages in southern Lebanon 20 February, noting that top IDF sources have said the searches will continue until the fate of the two hostages has been unequivocally determined. Four "terrorists" were killed during a clash with IDF soldiers searching the village of Haris 19 February, the radio reported earlier. An Amal official cited by Beirut radio acknowledged that four Amal members were killed in battles with the Israelis in Haris, adding that eight other Amal fighters were wounded.

Iran-Iraq War

Iraqi forces on the Al Faw front continue to advance "considerable distances" toward the coast, INA reported 20 February. Iraq also claimed that Iranian forces suffered "very heavy losses" in counterattacks in the area 19 February, according to an Iraqi military communique broadcast by Voice of the Masses radio. The communique disclosed that Iraqi planes meanwhile hit the Ganaveh oil pipeline intersection, an Iranian naval command center on Dara Island, and a C-130 plane. INA later reported that Iraqi aircraft shot down an F-4 and another C-130 plane 20 February, while Voice of the Masses announced that the Iraqi Navy sank four supply ships and a gunboat 19 February.

In contrast, Iran claimed that its forces "completely smashed" three Iraqi counterattacks on the Al-Faw-Umm Qasr road the night of 18-19 February, according to a military statement reported by Tehran radio. IRNA said three more Iraqi planes were shot down over the battle area 20 February, bring to 45 the total Iraqi warplanes lost in the latest offensive. Earlier, an Iranian military spokesman denied that Iraq shot down a C-130 and F-5 19 February, IRNA reported. IRNA also reported that 8,500 people have been injured as a result of Iraq's renewed use of chemical weapons.

In diplomatic developments, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i said in a Tehran radio interview that the current UN Security Council session on the war "has no value for us" and that its outcome is a foregone conclusion. In Bahrain, a Khamene'i envoy told the amir that Iran has "no covetous designs" on Iraq or any other country's territory. The envoy added that Iran will "curtail the hands of the aggressor" if Iraq threatens Kuwait's "territorial integrity," an IRNA report on the meeting added. In Paris, the Kuwaiti ambassador said that Kuwait would "very firmly retaliate against any aggression, and Iran knows this very well," KUNA reported. The envoy said the Kuwaiti Army is on maximum alert "because we sense the entire region is in danger," the report noted.

Libya-Chad

Libyan and GUNT forces are strengthening their positions in northern Chad while Libyan planes are daily overflying positions held by Chadian Government troops along the 16th Parallel, AFP reported citing the Chadian information minister.

FBIS DAILY REPORT
CONTENTS

Middle East & Africa

Vol V No 034 *20 February 1986*

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW i

ARABIAN PENINSULA

KUWAIT

Information Minister Denies Iranians Land on Bubiyan .... C 1
Amir Visits Faylakah Island Defenses .... C 1
Foreign Minister Receives Sudanese Official .... C 1

OMAN

Jordanian Industry, Trade Minister Arrives .... C 1
Talks Begin .... C 1
Trade Agreement Signed .... C 1
Trade Minister Concludes Visit .... C 2

PDRY

Deputy Chairman Says Abyan Secure, Stable .... C 2
Chairman Visits Foreign Ministry, Comments on Policy .... C 2
Assistant Secretary General Meets Local Officials .... C 3
Lebanese Communist Party Leader Arrives .... C 3
YSP Official Meets With GDR, Cuban Envoys .... C 3
YSP Official Receives Ethiopian Ambassador .... C 3
DFLP's Hawatimah Concludes Visit to Aden .... C 4

SAUDI ARABIA

Official on U.S. Moves To Levy Tariff on Crude *[KHALEEJ TIMES 19 Feb]* .... C 4

YAR

Kuwaiti Paper Reports PDRY Delegation in YAR *[AL SIYASAH 19 Feb]* .... C 4

EGYPT

Husayn Break With PLO Draws Reaction From Leaders .... D 1
Mubarak, Husayn Talk .... D 1
Contact With PLO Expected *[WAKH]* .... D 1
'Abd al-Majid Comments .... D 1
'Arafat on Jordan Relations .... D 1
'Arafat on Talks, U.S. Positions *[Voice of PLO]* .... D 1
Cabinet Discusses Mideast, Domestic Affairs .... D 2
Denmark's Queen Margrethe Arrives for 4-Day Visit .... D 2
Mubarak Hosts Dinner .... D 2
Mubarak, Queen Hold Talks .... D 3
Ghali Discusses Aims of African Policy *[London AL-TADAMUN 15-21 Feb]* .... D 3
Saudi Amir Discusses Ties With Egypt, Arab Issues *[AL-MUSAWWAR 14 Feb]* .... D 7

IRAQ

Ramadan Meets 'Arafat 19 Feb on War Situation .... E 1
Tariq 'Aziz Speaks to UN Security Council .... E 1

- Iran Accused of Using Chemical Weapons 12, 13 Feb .... E 1
- Reportage on Combat Operations in War With Iran .... E 1
    - Updated Situation at Battlefront .... E 1
    - WAM: Iran Retreating From Al-Faw .... E 2
    - Navy Sinks 3 Supply Ships 19 Feb .... E 2
    - Destroys Another .... E 2
    - Sinks Rescue Gunboat .... E 2
    - Planes Down F-4 Early 20 Feb .... E 2
    - Down C-130 Transport Plane .... E 2
    - 714 Air Force Missions 19 Feb .... E 3
    - Communique on 18-19 Feb Actions .... E 3
- Iranian Soldiers Reportedly Hospitalized in Israel .... E 4

JORDAN

- Husayn Addresses Nation on Mideast Peace .... F 1

LEBANON

- LE MONDE Interviews President Al-Jumayyil *[Paris 14 Feb]* .... G 1
- Past President Franjiyah Urges Syrian Intervention *[London AL-TADAMUN 15-21 Feb]* .... G 3
- Birri Addresses Marchers on S. Lebanon Fighting .... G 5
- Birri Comments on Aims of Israeli Attack in South *[Voice of the Mountain]* .... G 5
- Spanish Ambassador, Birri Hold News Conference *[Voice of Lebanon]* .... G 5
- Further on Islamic Resistance, Captured Israelis .... G 5
    - Execution Threat Reiterated .... G 5
    - One Israeli Reported Executed .... G 5
    - Execution Claim Disavowed *[Voice of Lebanon]* .... G 6
- Amal Security Report Updates Fighting in South .... G 6

ISRAEL

- Reportage on Reaction to King Husayn's Speech .... I 1
    - Peres Reacts 'Favorably' .... I 1
    - Further Details .... I 1
    - Rabin Interview .... I 1
    - Foreign Ministry 'Not Surprised' .... I 5
    - Further Details .... I 5
    - Bethlehem Mayor, Sanyurah Statements .... I 5
    - Further Details .... I 6
- Further Reportage on Kidnapping of IDF Soldiers .... I 6
    - Dozens Detained; Amal Mobilized .... I 6
    - IDF-Amal Clash Preempted .... I 6
    - 4 'Terrorists' Killed .... I 6
    - Search To Continue 20 Feb .... I 6
    - Commander on Reported Execution .... I 7
    - Shi'ite Leaders on Search .... I 7
- Iraqi Pilots Training at U.S. Base in Turkey *[THE JERUSALEM POST 16 Feb]* .... I 7
    - Turkish Foreign Ministry Issues Denial *[ANATOLIA]* .... I 7

NORTH AFRICA

ALGERIA

- Further Reportage on Tripartite Talks .... Q 1
    - Energy Minister Interviewed .... Q 1
    - Ministers Issue Communique .... Q 1
- FLN Politburo Discusses Libya, Gulf War, Chad, Oil .... Q 2
- President Nominates New Slate of Vice Ministers .... Q 3
    - 4 New Ministers Named *[AFP]* .... Q 3
    - FLN Secretariat Reshuffled .... Q 3

LIBYA

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Iranian Deputy Minister Q 3
Sudanese Minister Arrives, Cites U.S. 'Threats' Q 3
VOGAH: U.S. Planning More Exercises in March Q 4
Military Exercises in Mediterranean Concluded Q 4
JANA: France Pursues U.S. Policy in Chad Q 4
Chadian POW's Cited on Food, Medicine Shortages Q 4

MAURITANIA

Reportage on Presidential Foreign Visits Q 4
    Comments on Paris Talks Q 4
    Departs for PRC Q 4

MOROCCO

Continuing Reportage on Visit of FRG Foreign Minister Q 5
    Received by Prime Minister Q 5
Reportage on Visit of Hungarian Minister Q 5
    Joint Trade Commission Set Up Q 5
    Concludes Visit, Departs Q 5

SUDAN

Siwar al-Dhahab Inaugurates Project in Port Sudan Q 6
Trade Unions on TMC 'Conspiracy' Against People Q 6

TUNISIA

Bourguiba Receives Chadian President's Envoy Q 6
Essebsi Meets With French External Affairs Minister Q 6
Reportage on Visit of FRG Foreign Minister Q 6
    Arrives 14 Feb Q 6
    Meets With Bourguiba, Others Q 6
    Meets With Arab League's Klibi *[DPA]* Q 7
    Concludes Visit, Departs Q 7

CENTRAL AFRICA

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Government Approves New Budget for 1986 S 1

CHAD

Information Minister Says Situation Calm Throughout *[AFP]* S 1
Ndjamena Airport Bomber Said To Come From Libya *[AFP]* S 1

GABON

Loan Agreement To Extend Airport Signed With France *[AFP]* S 1

ZAIRE

Mobutu Appoints Head of Special Presidential Corps S 1
AZAP Calls for Peace in Chad Through Reconciliation S 2

WEST AFRICA

IVORY COAST

Abidjan Announces Resumption of Ties With USSR .... T 1

LIBERIA

Asylum for Duvalier Rejected 'At This Time' .... T 1

NIGERIA

CONCORD on Problems Remaining in UK Relations .... T 1
Foreign Minister Interviewed on Mediation in Chad *[BBC]* .... T 1

SOUTHERN AFRICA

ANGOLA

Swedish Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Arrives .... U 1

LESOTHO

New Government To Resume Ties With ROK .... U 1
Arrests of Three Former Ministers Revealed *[BBC]* .... U 1

MOZAMBIQUE

Armed Forces Kill 16 'Bandits' in Inhambane .... U 2
New Railway Termed 'Act of Economic Warfare' .... U 2

SOUTH AFRICA

P.W. Botha Meeting With Church Leaders 'Confirmed' .... U 2
    Botha 'Unable To See' Churchmen .... U 2
    Churchmen Meet With Vlok *[Umtata]* .... U 3
Tutu, Naude, Boesak Urge Banks To Reject Reschedule .... U 3
President's Council Discusses Reforms .... U 4
President's Office Statement on Transcript Release .... U 5
Indians Concerned Over Vlok Statement on Unrest .... U 5
ANC Secretary General Departs for CPSU Congress .... U 5
Transkei Assembly Elects Ndamase New President .... U 6
Transkei Defense Force To Get Airborne Capability .... U 6
Alexandra Death Toll Rises To 'At Least' 23 .... U 6
Policeman Absolved From Blame in Student's Death .... U 7
Police Use Teargas During Squatter Camp Unrest .... U 7
'Massive' Cleanup Operation in Guguletu .... U 7
Violence Breaks Out in Mabopane 19 Feb .... U 7
500 Rylands Pupils Boycott School, 'Scab' Teachers .... U 7
Youth on Rampage Over Biko Statue by Randfontein .... U 8
Police Issue Latest Unrest Situation Reports .... U 8
    Late 19 Feb .... U 8
    Early 20 Feb .... U 8
WEEKLY MAIL's 14-20 Feb 'Apartheid Barometer' .... U 9
Press Examines Current Issues, Problems .... U 9

ZAMBIA

Foreign Minister Receives GDR Deputy Minister .... U 10
Kaunda Calls on West To Put Pressure on RSA .... U 10

ZIMBABWE

SFRY Assembly President Arrives on Visit .... U 11
Information Minister Discusses Role in Mozambique *[BBC]*.......... U 11
Radio Truth: 'Hundreds' of ZNA Dying in Mozambique .... U 11

KUWAIT

Information Minister Denies Iranians Land on Bubiyan

LD201122 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1106 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Kuwait, 20 Feb (KUNA) — Kuwaiti Information Minister Shaykh Nasir Muhammad al-Ahmad al-Jabir today categorically denied reports circulating abroad about an Iranian military landing on the island of Bubiyan.

Amir Visits Faylakah Island Defenses

LD201035 Kuwait Domestic Service in Arabic
1000 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] The Amir of Kuwait and supreme commander of the Army and Armed Forces this morning visited Faylakah Island where he inspected a number of our Armed Forces' defense positions.

He was accompanied by Minister of Defense Shaykh Salim al-Sabah and a number of senior Army officers.

Upon his arrival at the island, he was welcomed by the metropolitan governor, Shaykh Jabir al-'Abdallah al-Jabir al-Sabah and the island's mukhtar and a number of citizens.

Later, the amir visited the Faylakah Island nursery school where he was welcomed by the under secretary of the Ministry of Education, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Khudari.

The pupils of the school put on some shows and performed some national dances. The director of the nursery delivered a welcoming speech.

The amir thanked them and urged them to exert efforts to bring up a generation that believes in God and the homeland.

Thereupon, the amir and his companions left the island to a great sendoff.

Foreign Minister Receives Sudanese Official

LD191533 Kuwait KUNA in English 1417 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Kuwait, Feb 19 (KUNA) — Acting premier and foreign minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad received here Wednesday Assistant Chairman of the Sudanese Transitional Military Council General Taj Eddin Fadel Abdullah.

Discussions at the meeting dealt with bilateral relations and current Arab developments.

The Sudanese official briefed Shaykh Sabah on latest developments in southern Sudan.

The meeting was attended by director of Shaykh Sabah's office Abdullah Saud al Abdul Razzak and the Sudanese Ambassador to Kuwait Mohammed al Amin Abdullah.

OMAN

Jordanian Industry, Trade Minister Arrives

GF161420 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic
1300 GMT 16 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Raja'i al-Mu'ashir, Jordanian minister of industry and trade, and his accompanying delegation arrived today on a 4-day official visit to the sultanate. During the visit the minister will hold talks with a number of senior officials in the sultanate, particularly those in the trade and economic fields, on bilateral relations and on means to develop and bolster these relations.

Talks Begin

GF161728 Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic
1600 GMT 16 Feb 86

[Text] Official talks began at the Al-Bustan hotel tonight between the Omani side, led by Staff Colonel Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali, minister of industry and commerce; and the Jordanian side, led by Dr Raja'i al-Mu'ashir, Jordanian minister of industry and trade, who is currently visiting the country.

In a statement following the talks, Staff Colonel Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali said that they discussed the terms of the agreement which is expected to be signed between the two sides during the Jordanian delegation's visit to the sultanate. The Omani delegation also listened to the Jordanian delegation's proposals on establishing a stockholding company between the two countries. It also listened to a number of ideas regarding certain joint industries which could be set up in the two countries to make use of raw materials.

Trade Agreement Signed

GF181836 Salalah Domestic Service in Arabic
1600 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] A trade and economic agreement was signed at the Industry and Commerce Ministry today between the government of the sultanate and the government of the sister Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. His Excellency Staff Colonel Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali, minister of industry and commerce, signed on behalf of the sultanate's government and His Excellency Raja'i al-Mu'ashir, Jordanian minister of inudstry and trade, who is currently visiting the country, signed on behalf of the Jordanian Government.

Following the signing of the agreement His Excellency Staff Col Salim ibn 'Abdallah al-Ghazali made a statement to radio, television, and press. He said this agreement is one of the results of the continuous efforts of His Majesty Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id and his Majesty King Husayn ibn Talal, monarch of the sister Jordanian Kingdom. His excellency added that this agreement is a framework through which economic and trade relations are organized and larger vistas in this field are opened between the two countries. He said the most distinctive aspect of this agreement is the setting up of a joint committee which will follow up the development of relations and guide them along the correct path to serve the interests of the peoples of the two fraternal countries.

His Excellency Raja'i al-Mu'ashir, Jordanian minister of industry and trade, also made a statement in which he said that his talks with the officials in the sultanate concentrated on various issues, the most important being the approval of the final agreement which was signed today between the two countries, and the possibility of setting joint projects between the private sectors in the two countries. The Jordanian minister said an agreement was also reached on the need to study the concept of establishing a joint company which will define the projects to be executed in future and set forth the plans for bilateral cooperation between the private sectors in the two countries.

Discussion was also held on a number of issues dealing with increasing the size of trade exchange and urging the private sectors in the two countries to import the necessities of the two countries from each other. His excellency added that they also reviewed the possibility of cooperating in agricultural technology and in joint projects which serve the Jordanian and Omani farmer.

The signing ceremonies were attended by 'Abdallah Tay, director of the Legal Department at the Foreign Ministry.

Trade Minister Concludes Visit

GF190908 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic
0700 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpts] Raja'i al-Mu'ashir, Jordanian minister of industry and trade, left Oman today following a 4-day visit, during which he held meetings with senior Omani officials.

The visiting minister was seen off by 'Abd al-Hafiz Salim Rajab, minister of agriculture and fisheries, and Sa'id ibn Nasir al-Khusaybi, executive director of the general board for marketing agricultural products.

PDRY

Deputy Chairman Says Abyan Secure, Stable

GF191908 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1630 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Muhammad 'Awad al-Sa'di, deputy chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, today in Abyan Governorate met with the heads of our diplomatic corps posted abroad. Brother al-Sa'di briefed them on the effects of the bloody 13 January events, the nature of the situation in the governorate, the individual practices of conspirator Muhammad 'Ali Ahmad, the mass arrests of party and military cadres and citizens and their liquidation through collective assasination, the attempts to frighten the citizens, and the liquidation of the economic accomplishments which had been achieved by the toiling masses of the governorate.

He told them that the governorate is now secure and stable and that the governorate is gradually restoring its normal life. He said that the governorate's leadership is currently working to eliminate the effects of the conspiracy, to (?carry on) with economic and development projects, to provide food supplies, and to facilitate the return of those who were misled.

The heads of the diplomatic corps inspected a number of locations where Muhammad 'Ali Ahmad committed his fascist crimes and the mass graves of the best strugglers of our party and sons of our people.

Chairman Visits Foreign Ministry, Comments on Policy

GF191440 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1230 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Brother Engineer Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the YSP Political Bureau and chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, visited the Foreign Ministry today. He was received by Dr 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, member of the YSP Political Bureau and foreign minister; and Muhammad 'Ali 'Imayah, deputy foreign minister; and other officials at the ministry.

The brother chairman met with the ministry leadership and directors of ministry departments and reviewed with them current developments, and the futile coupist conspiracy which was carried out by conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his fascist clique and the results of this conspiracy on the domestic and external levels.

The chairman reviewed with the ministry leadership our foreign policy and the importance of carrying out political and diplomatic activity with fraternal and friendly countries, adhering to a line which is far removed from the two-sided stances which were adopted by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. He said our foreign policy will remain firm and based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, international solidarity, mutual respect, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of others. He stressed the determination to develop our relations with all countries of the region out of concern for the interests of our people and their security and stability. He also affirmed the importance of bolstering the role of our diplomatic corps abroad and the activities of our foreign policy in order to present a clear picture of the 13 January events and their nature, in a way which the role and activities will be based on facts and will represent our stances toward all those countries which have diplomatic relations with us.

He said that attempts to put an end to the revolution from inside and outside had failed. He highly evaluated the stances of the brethren and friends who sympathized with the ordeal which our people experienced. He particularly appreciated the principled and firm stances of the Soviet Union which has always supported the struggle of our people in all circumstances. He pointed out the pride of our party, country, and people for relations between our two countries and the development of these relations according to the friendship and cooperation treaty between the two friendly countries.

Assistant Secretary General Meets Local Officials

GF200736 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
0330 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Salim Salih Muhammad, assistant secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, called on the leaders of the YSP organization in Al-Dali' District to double their practical and sincere efforts in order to achieve tangible progress, to build the economy, and to heal the deep wounds that have afflicted our country's children as a result of the brutal and destructive actions carried out by the coupists and murderers.

This took place yesterday during brother Salim Salih Muhammad's meeting with members of the YSP organization in Al-Dali' District, the directors of the government, security, and defense departments, the assistant administrative officers in the subdistricts, the organizers of services in the YSP ranks, and the families of the glorious martyrs who fell victim to the unsuccessful coupist plot engineered by the agent 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his murderous adventurous gang in January 1986.

During the meeting, brother Salim Salih spoke of the present situation in our country and the urgent task of the party, leadership, and primary organizations to alleviate the destructive effects left by the coupist attempt on the country's situation and the economy.

He referred to the correct measures adopted by the YSP Central Committee for this purpose which sincerely expressed the YSP's unity in difficult circumstances and its superlative ability to confront the difficult confrontation and the challenges under the revolution's leadership.

The brother assistant secretary general pointed out that the treasonous agents have not succeeded in overthrowing the system and government and controlling the party and the people by force of arms. He said that for this reason they will act to undermine the [words indistinct], and the process of social and economic development. For this reason combat readiness must be elevated among the party and the people and greater efforts must be made in the field of economic and social construction in order to secure the completion of the national revolution's tasks and its socialist prospects. He said that this depends on the adoption of a new attitude toward work, surmounting the effects left by the agent 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, fighting extravagance, protecting public property, and the making of exceptional efforts in order to increase and improve production so that we will be able to guarantee the revolution's safety and unite the pillars of the nationalist, democratic struggle in our country.

The meeting was attended by brother Salih 'Ubayd Ahmad, candidate member of the YSP Political Bureau and minister of defense; brother Dr Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, member of the YSP secretary and first secretary of the YSP organization in Lahij Governorate; Ghazi 'Aqlan, member of the YSP Central Committee and chairman of the executive bureau of the local people's council in the governorate; a number of YSP Central Committee members; and members of the [word indistinct] governorate's committee.

Lebanese Communist Party Leader Arrives

GF200447 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
0330 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Muhsin Ibrahim, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Action Organization, arrived in Aden at dawn today on a visit to the PDRY that will last several days. He will hold talks with a number of leading party and state officials which will deal with relations between the YSP and the Lebanese Communist Action Organization.

He was received at the airport by Brother Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah Muhsin, member of the YSP Political Bureau and secretary of the YSP Central Committee, and a number of brother officials at the YSP Central Committee Secretariat.

YSP Official Meets With GDR, Cuban Envoys

GF201347 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1230 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Dr Salim 'Umar Bukayr, YSP Central Committee member and secretary has met in separate audiences in his office at the YSP Central Committee Secretariat with the GDR charge d'affaires and the cultural attache at the Cuban Embassy in Aden.

During the meetings, he briefed them on the details of the failed coup attempt, which was carried out by conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his fascist gang on the bloody 13 January events.

He highly valued their countries' internationalist stand in solidarity with our party and people and their honest support for our country in all fields, particularly educational, cultural, and media fields. He also valued the developing relations between our party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Cuban Communist Party. He emphasized that the future would witness further development of these relations.

Also during the meeting they discussed the return of GDR and Cuban advisers to work in the educational, cultural, and media fields now that the situation in the country has returned to normal.

The GDR charge d'affaires and the Cuban cultural attache expressed their countries' solidarity with our party and people to enable them overcome the hard times our country has passed through. They affirmed the need for growing struggle relations between our party and people and the parties and peoples of the two friendly countries.

YSP Official Receives Ethiopian Ambassador

GF191620 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
230 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah Muhsin, member of the YSP Political Bureau and secretary of the YSP Central Committee, today met in his office with Comrade Tesema Belai, Ethiopian ambassador in Aden. The secretary delivered a message to the ambassador from Brother ‘Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, addressed to Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, chairman of the provisional military administrative council, and commander in chief of the revolutionary Armed Forces, on cooperation between the two friendly parties and countries.

They also reviewed in an amicable atmosphere a number of issues which concern the YSP and the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian toilers, and the two friendly countries.

During the meeting they affirmed the importance of continuing to develop and bolster struggle relations between the Yemeni and Ethiopian revolutions and to continue efforts to consolidate the strategic alliance between the two friendly parties, revolutions, and countries.

DFLP's Hawatimah Concludes Visit to Aden

GF191340 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1230 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Nayif Hawatimah, secretary general of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP], has departed Aden following a visit to our country. During the visit he held meetings and negotiations with party and state leaders to bolster the struggle and comradely relations between the YSP and DFLP and between the Yemeni and Palestinian revolutions, and to contribute to the strengthening of the steadfastness of the YSP and the PDRY in confronting the effects and results of the bloody 13 January events which were planned and carried out by conspirator ‘Ali Nasir Muhammad and his adventurous clique.

He was seen off at the airport by Brother Muhammad Sa‘id ‘Abdallah Muhsin, member of the YSP Political Bureau and secretary of the YSP Central Committee.

SAUDI ARABIA

Official on U.S. Moves To Levy Tariff on Crude

GF191502 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English
19 Feb 86 p 15

[By Ahmad Hasan]

[Text] The recent move in the U.S. Congress to levy heavy tariffs on crude oil imports has posed serious threats to the Arab economy. This was stated in Abu Dhabi yesterday by Ma‘mun-Qurawi, chief of the Economics and Cultural Department at the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Commerce and acting under secretary of the ministry.

He said the challenge should be met with a unified strategy and all possible avenues for viable alternatives should be explored. He, however, added that the AGCC countries were in no hurry to counteract.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the Intercontinental Hotel, the Saudi official said AGCC's negotiations with the EEC were continuing to resolve the deadlock over tariffs on Gulf petrochemicals.

Mr Qurawi said it was not known to many that only six European companies controlled the market in Europe and several Third World countries. There were 30 European companies manufacturing advanced petrochemicals. However, the six multinationals were so powerful that they were in a position to force governments to take decisions which suited the interests of these companies.

He said the private sector traders in Europe welcomed imports of Arab petrochemicals which sell at relatively cheap prices.

Referring to talks about the boycott of the U.S. market and the withdrawal of AGCC funds from U.S. banks he said it would not be a wise move at present. At the moment it would have more negative than positive consequences, he added.

He said that this was the first time in America's history that a move to impose tariffs on crude oil imports had been made.

Mr Qurawi said the U.S. action had come at a time when the AGCC countries were facing problems in the oil market and their economy was affected by recession.

YAR

Kuwaiti Paper Reports PDRY Delegation in YAR

GF201250 Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 19 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] *AL-SIYASAH* has learned that a PDRY delegation led by the minister of state for unity affairs and member of the YSP Central Committee arrived in Sanaa 2 days ago. It is the first PDRY delegation to visit the YAR since the events of 13 January as part of the unity coordination between the two parts of Yemen.

Political circles view that this visit demonstrates the YAR's recognition of the new leadership in Aden.

Husayn Break With PLO Draws Reaction From Leaders

Mubarak, Husayn Talk

NC192027 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2012 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Cairo, 19 Feb (MENA) — President Husni Mubarak and King Husayn of Jordan had a telephone conversation this evening. They exchanged views on the region's most important issues.

Contact With PLO Expected

GF201018 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0925 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Cairo, 20 Feb (WAKH) — An official source at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry has refused to comment on the decision announced last night by King Husayn of Jordan on halting political coordination with the PLO.

In a statement to WAKH, the source said that Egypt respects the decisions that every country adopts out of conviction. He said that Egypt hopes that all Arab parties will reconsider their calculations at this critical stage of pan-Arab action and in the light of recent events before existing opportunities to rescue the Arab situation are lost.

The source affirmed that Egypt, on its part, will continue its serious efforts for the sake of the pan-Arab cause.

The source, who asked not to be identified, referred to a previous warning by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak that the Palestinian issue permits no further waiting and hesitation and that the present situation requires all Arabs, particularly the Palestinian leaders, to adopt a clear stand and move fast in the right direction.

It is expected that contacts will be made in the next few hours between Egypt and the PLO leaders.

'Abd al-Majid Comments

NC201452 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1410 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Cairo, 20 Feb (MENA) — Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, met with Hasan Hamami, Jordan's ambassador to Cairo, today. Following this meeting, Dr 'Abd al-Majid said that, under the current circumstances, Egypt is trying to reconcile the Palestinian and Jordanian views. Egypt, he affirmed, is faithfully and earnestly seeking to keep the peace process alive. 'Abd al-Majid also indicated that high-level contacts between President Husni Mubarak and King Husayn of Jordan have taken place in this regard.

Dr 'Abd al-Majid described King Husayn's speech yesterday as a comprehensive one that deserves elaborate study. He added: I would like to emphasize the reference made in this speech to King Husayn's commitment to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. It is not true that the king has called for the termination of this agreement, as certain press reports have claimed.

Dr 'Abd al-Majid noted that his meeting with the Jordanian ambassador had provided an opportunity to express Egypt's views on this issue. He also voiced the hope that earnest efforts will succeed in eliminating current Arab differences and thereby help to establish a just peace in the Middle East.

In a statement following this meeting, the Jordanian ambassador in Cairo said that he had conveyed to Dr 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid the text of King Husayn's speech, which he had addressed to the Jordanian, Palestinian, and Arab people. He noted that he and Dr 'Abd al-Majid had exchanged views with regard to reactions to this speech. Discussion also dealt with the current Arab situation and the Palestinian issue, he added.

The Jordanian ambassador pointed out that his meeting with Dr 'Abd al-Majid today is part of the continuing consultations between Egypt and Jordan.

'Arafat on Jordan Relations

NC191513 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1400 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Cairo, 19 Feb (MENA) — PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat has emphasized that there is no coolness in Jordanian-Palestinian relations. He added that the three months during which Jordanian-Palestinian relations were described by some people as cool, constituted one of their most active periods.

In an interview with *AL-MUSAWWAR* magazine to be published in its Friday issue, 'Arafat talked about on the Palestinian and Jordanian views on the international conference. He pointed out that the PLO and Jordan agree that the international conference must be effective and not just for show. He went on to say that such a conference must be attended by all the permanent member states of the Security Council, as well as all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict, including the PLO. 'Arafat said that an agreement had been reached with Jordan to the effect that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation would take part in negotiations. 'Arafat welcomed the idea of forming a unified Arab delegation to such a conference.

'Arafat denied reports that there might be a rift in his own ranks, with a rightist group prepared to accept what the PLO currently rejects. He described these reports as media campaigns aimed at damaging the PLO's prestige, and said they are part of the ongoing propaganda onslaught that claims that the PLO has resources of $6 billion. 'Arafat added: How could the PLO acquire so much money? He said that the PLO's budget and financial resources are known. Its funds come from Arab financial aid and contributions by the Palestinian people.

'Arafat on Talks, U.S. Positions

JN191748 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1645 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Brother leader Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] has said that the three formulas submitted to Jordan by the PLO include the PLO's readiness to attend any international conference on the basis of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, particularly on the right to self-determination, on the Palestinian-Jordanian agreement, and on all UN resolutions. In a statement to the press published in Cairo today, he added that talks between the PLO and Jordan have not reached a deadlock, but have stopped for further consultations.

Brother Abu 'Ammar also said that neither Washington nor Tel Aviv are interested in achieving a just and lasting peaceful solution or in convening an international conference in order to find a solution to the Middle East problem. The leader of the revolution also affirmed that the U.S. position is arrogant and is biased toward the Zionist viewpoint, adding that the United States used its veto three times in a month not only against the Palestinian people or the PLO, but also against the Arab nation. He said that this confirms the complete U.S. bias toward the Zionist viewpoint.

Cabinet Discusses Mideast, Domestic Affairs

NC191934 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic
1500 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The Cabinet met today, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Dr 'Ali Lutfi. It discussed developments in the Palestinian issue and the efforts being exerted by Egypt to bring the views of all parties concerned closer together. These efforts are directed at safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people on the basis of the possible formulas that could be used in this respect.

The Cabinet emphasized that the recent U.S. statement, which, for the first time, noted the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, represents a positive step in the search for a comprehensive, durable, and just peace in the Middle East. This came in a statement by Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif. Minister al-Sharif added that the Cabinet also discussed developments in the Iran-Iraq war and its effects on the Gulf area. Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, submitted a report on this issue; the Cabinet also considered the matter in light of the recent visit to Iraq by Dr Yusuf Wali, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture.

Al-Sharif added that the Cabinet reviewed a memorandum on the Egyptian-Israeli talks on the Tabah issue and on other issues outstanding between the two countries. Various domestic matters were also discussed. Prime Minister Lutfi stressed that there will be no increase in the price of any commodity produced by the public sector except with the approval of the higher policy committee. Instructions were given by Prime Minister Lutfi to review the prices of some of these commodities and examine the reasons for any increase. A report on this subject will be submitted to the policy committee when it next meets to decide on the necessary measures in this regard.

The information minister added that the Cabinet also reviewed a report submitted by Interior Minister Ahmad Rushdi on the political-economic, and social aspects of domestic security. The report noted the stability prevailing in the country as a result of government policy. It is the government's aim to serve the interests of those on limited incomes, despite current economic circumstances. Minister Rushdi also described the results of the ongoing efforts to combat narcotics and harmful drugs. In light of this report, the Cabinet stressed that corruption will be severely dealt with, and that efforts to combat all forms of corruption will continue, regardless of the reasons for such corruption.

Minister al-Sharif pointed out that the Cabinet had decided to allocate 50 million pounds for the urgently needed drainage project in Alexandria. In addition, 64 million pounds will be earmarked for Egyptian-made railroad passenger cars. The Cabinet also approved the establishment of the fourth unit in the Shubra al-Khaymah power station, which will cost 198 million pounds. A project for building a new city in Al-Miniyah governorate was also approved during the Cabinet meeting. The new city will be classed as a new urban community. Arrangements for financing the construction of the new Qasr al'Ayni hospital in the amount of 600 million French francs were also approved by the Cabinet. The hospital will have 1,034 beds. A plan to provide irrigation to enable 1,200,000 feddans of rice to be cultivated was also approved. The Cabinet reviewed the results of the minister of supply's recent visit to Australia, during which an agreement was signed for the supply of 2 million tons of wheat at below market prices.

Denmark's Queen Margrethe Arrives for 4-Day Visit

NC191518 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1435 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Cairo, 19 Feb (MENA) — Queen Margrethe II of Denmark and her husband Prince Henrik arrived in Cairo this afternoon on a 4-day official visit to Egypt, in response to an invitation from President Husni Mubarak.

Mubarak Hosts Dinner

NC200501 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic
1830 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] President Muhammad Husni Mubarak hosted a dinner banquet at Al-Qubbah presidential palace this evening, in honor of Queen Margrethe II of Denmark, Prince Henrik, and the delegation accompanying them.

In his dinner speech, President Mubarak welcomed the honored guest and praised the strong ties that have linked Egypt and Denmark for many years. President Mubarak said he was pleased to note that 50 years have passed since diplomatic relations were established between Egypt and Denmark, and he pointed out that the 50th anniversary will be celebrated next year. He added that bilateral cooperation in the technical, economic, and cultural fields is very satisfactory, and went on to say: We both look forward to further cooperation. The president continued: We appreciate what you have done to support Egypt's efforts, both through your foreign policy and through your active role in the EEC. The president affirmed that peace is undoubtedly man's first priority, and that the dangers of wars, unrest, and turmoil affect us all without exception.

He went on to say: Your visit to our country is a good opportunity for us to renew the bonds of our relationship. It will give a considerable impetus to bilateral realtions, and will strengthen the understanding between our two countries.

Speaking at the dinner banquet, Queen Margrethe of Denmark praised the excellent relations between Egypt and Denmark. Her Majesty said: Both our countries give priority to the international efforts aimed at bolstering peace and cooperation. We are convinced that it is a matter of urgency and of the greatest importance that the United Nations and other organizations strengthen the means of international cooperation. She added that Egypt and Denmark both believe in the pressing need for tolerance and reason to prevail, and that they both have the highest esteem for the role of the patient negotiator and the peacemaker with a clear-cut vision.

Queen Margrethe said that the important and brave role being played by Egypt and His Excellency President Mubarak in the peace process is much admired in Denmark. She declared that a peaceful and just solution to the Middle East issue could be attained if all the parties concerned were to proceed in the same spirit as Egypt. She added that Europe, with its record of conflicts that have been overcome, and its experience in the field of cooperation, fully supports the Egyptian efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. Despite the various obstacles remaining, we believe that the Arab nation's approach must be inspired by the responsible attitude adopted by Egypt, she said.

In conclusion, Queen Margrethe expressed her thanks for the warm reception given her by the Egyptian Government and people.

President Husni Mubarak awarded the Nile medal to Queen Margrethe, and the sash of the Nile to Prince Henrik. In return, Queen Margrethe awarded the (Alfil) medal to President Mubarak, and the Dannebrog medal to Mrs Mubarak.

Mubarak, Queen Hold Talks

NC200941 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic
0900 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and Queen Margrethe II of Denmark began official talks this morning at the Al-Qubbah Presidential Palace. The foreign ministers of both countries later joined the meeting. Other Egyptian officials had similar discussions with members of the Danish delegation.

Ghali Discusses Aims of African Policy

PM191107 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
15-21 Feb 86 pp 21-24

["Interview with Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Dr Butrus Ghali by Fu'ad Matar, Hamidah Na'na', and Ihsan Bakr in Cairo — date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Your special interest in Africa is well known. But, in recent years, this interest has turned into your main preoccupation, considering that the black continent's concerns and its relations with Egypt have been taking up most of your time. We know that Egypt has constantly represented a center of attraction for the continent's other countries and peoples. We are also aware that the African circle was the third circle on which foreign policy focused in the days of the late President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. This Egyptian interest in the continent had its positive influence on the Arab-Israeli conflict when all the African countries decided to sever diplomatic relations with Israel. But the present situation is different and here we are again facing Israel in the continent. Can you explain to *AL-TADAMUN*'s readers the dimensions of the current African policy of the Arab Republic of Egypt?

[Ghali] This is true. Egypt's interest in the African continent is not new. It is, rather, one of the focal points of our foreign policy. But I have general observations on African-Arab relations that must be noted to explain the situation generally and to understand the dimensions of the crisis governing these relations at present. These observations are:

First, the organizations founded in Cairo, in 1977, for cooperation between the Arab League and the OAU have failed abysmally.

Second, there are a number of Arab disagreements and disputes that have been reflected in the OAU and imposed themselves in the arena, overwhelming the other countries' problems. For years, the OAU's interest has focused on the Western Sahara issue. The split developing within the OAU's framework between those supporting and those opposing admission of the Saharan Republic as a member has preoccupied the other members for a long time. The same goes for Libya and Chad, for the Somali-Ethiopian dispute, for the disagreement on whether the OAU headquarters should be in Addis Ababa or in Tripoli, and for convening the annual conference in this or that Arab African capital. As a result, the non-Arab African countries feel extremely dissatisfied with this situation. There is a prevalent tone in the circles of African conferences saying: The Arab disagreements have imposed themselves on us and this has resulted in lack of interest in the real African problems. Numerous calls have risen calling for fragmenting the OAU, such as the call for setting up a "black African unity" organization, an organization of the "progressive African states" and so forth.

Third, the economic conditions in Africa in recent years have been very bad — starvation, drought, a debt amounting to $170 billion — and the rich Arab countries have shown no real interest in this situation.

Added to these three main causes are a number of subsidiary causes that have had their negative impact on African-Arab relations, most significantly the Iraq-Iran war, considering that since the outbreak of this war, and up until the present, Iranian delegations have been touring the continent to persuade the Africans to take a position against Iraq. As soon as the Iranian delegations depart from this or that country, Iraqi delegations arrive for the same reasons. The Africans have thus found themselves fully perplexed as to the position that should be adopted.

The African response to all the above observations has been to give thought to new approaches to relations with the Arab countries. One of these approaches has been the restoration of relations with Israel about which you have spoken. Restoring these relations represents to the African countries aid from the Western countries — aid, expertise, technology, and more from the United States.

[Question] What is the cure for this crisis of confidence?

[Ghali] More aid and more African-Arab projects. Egypt has, despite its meager economic resources, tried to implement a number of such projects. We have set up here in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the African Cooperation and Development Fund. Its objective is not to set up economic projects because we do not have the financial resources and because our economic conditions are not as healthy as one would wish. The objective has been to send expertise to the countries that need it. So far, we have sent thousands of experts and have opened the doors of the Egyptian institutes and training centers to African experts wishing to gain new capabilities. When we realized that Egypt's resources are incapable of performing the task of fruitful cooperation with Africa, we resorted to a new approach, namely the approach of trilateral cooperation, to make up for the lack of Arab aid. The trilateral cooperation approach means having technologically advanced countries with material resources, such as France, Germany, and others, participate with us. So far, I have succeeded in establishing this trilateral cooperation with Japan only.

Last year, I visited Tokyo, met with the prime minister and presented the idea to him. He displayed great enthusiasm for it. We have carried out three successful joint ventures so far. The first was to send drugs to Somalia and Sudan, with Egypt responsible for the shipping costs and Japan responsible for the costs of the drugs. The second was to train African nurses in Egyptian hospitals. The Japanese paid the travel fares and we paid the costs of residence and training. The third venture was joint naval training between Japan and a number of African countries in Alexandria for a period of 4 weeks. We are trying to overcome the meagerness of our financial resources through this approach. But these modest ventures are not the only sphere of our action in Africa. There is diplomacy. I personally make 10 trips to Africa annually to make contacts and offer aid.

[Question] Can you give us an idea of some of the objectives of these contacts and have you actually succeeded in finding solutions to some African problems?

[Ghali] All of the African continent's problems concern us by virtue of our being an indivisible part of Africa. Consequently, we are more concerned with the problems that are closer to us and that touch on our security. Let me give you an example of the contacts we make. Last month, a conference on Chad was held in Geneva. This conference required extensive contacts on our part with the Western countries. In any meeting with the officials of these countries, we stress the importance of assisting Chad materially to enable it to repair its situation. On our part, we have sent engineers, experts, and resources to Chad.

[Question] So where are the organizations set up by the Arab League in 1977 for African-Arab cooperation?

[Ghali] We wish that these organizations would act and wish that the Arab countries would advance aid to Africa instead of having Africa look far for this aid in Europe and Japan.

[Question] Can you outline to us the reasons for your interest in Africa and in following up on its problems and issues? Are there specific reasons, is there a certain secret, is the interest in Africa meant to make up for the relationship with the Arab world?

[Ghali] There is no contradiction between the interest in Africa and the interest in Egyptian-Arab relations because 70 percent of Arab territories are in Africa and 75 percent of the Arab world's population lives in Africa. This is the first reason. The second reason is that the security dimension of Egypt and Sudan, the two countries that are fatefully tied to each other, extends into Africa, meaning that the Nile, which gives life to both these countries, comes from Africa. Egypt's water is in Ethiopia, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Zaire. These countries that I have mentioned are African countries located in the heart of the continent and controlling Egyptian national security requirements directly or indirectly. This is an axiomatic and important reason. There are, of course, other reasons connected with economic integration or with the possibilities of such integration. In 7 years, Egypt will, for example, need more water. The additional quantities of water needed require the construction of projects and dams in this or that African country. What country will give us such an advantage if our relations with it are poor or will give it for nothing in return? Therefore, I must prepare as of this moment and must advance this or that degree of aid. Moreover, Egypt truly seeks to establish economic integration with these countries. Instead of importing tea from an Asian country, I can buy it from Africa. Instead of importing meats, vegetables, drugs, and so forth [from others] I can purchase them from Africa.

[Question] But the Egyptian-Sudanese integration experience does not encourage embarking on African integration.

[Ghali] The fact that the experiment has failed does not mean that the objective is wrong. I must persist and must think of new ways to make any new integration experience successful.

[Question] We feel that turning to Africa or looking for a solution to economic problems through African integration reflects, despite the importance of this integration, some sort of attempt to make up for relations with the Arab world. It is, if you wish, tantamount to making up for the estrangement.

[Ghali] This is untrue. When Egyptian-Arab relations were at the peak of their prosperity, Egyptian-African relations were going through a phase of serious and fruitful coordination. Egypt's interest in Africa dates back to the days of Muhammad 'Ali and this interest has continued with all his successors. Prior to the foundation of the Arab League, Egypt's most important objective was, for example, the unity of the Nile. Since the foundation of the Arab League, Africa has continued to occupy a prominent place in Egyptian policy. Before establishment of the OAU, we embarked on various experiments to create African groups.

[Question] Before posing this question, we wish to point out that Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir gave Egyptian-African relations a new dimension they had not known before, even though these relations date back to Muhammad 'Ali's days, as you have noted. Our question concerns African-Israeli relations. What is Egypt's role and can Egypt block these relations through its good relations with the African countries?

[Ghali] Egypt cannot ask the African countries not to restore their relations with Israel when Egypt itself has diplomatic relations with this state. There is no doubt that Egypt's role in this regard is a pure illusion. We cannot ask for this. On the other hand, there are OAU resolutions to the effect that the OAU members should not restore their relations with Israel unless a solution is reached on the Palestinian issue. But the economic crisis storming Africa on the one hand and the faultiness of Arab policies on the other hand do not make it easy to implement these resolutions. Despite this, some African countries did not restore their relations with Israel until 2 or 3 years after Israel had withdrawn its armies from the Sinai.

We concluded the treaty in 1979, Israel withdrew in 1982, and the African countries began to restore relations in 1984 and 1985. What I want to say is that Egypt's treaty with Israel is not the only motive encouraging the African countries to restore relations with Israel. There are numerous other motives that I mentioned at the outset of this interview, such as the failure of the organizations set up by the Arab League to work in Africa, the failure of the Arab's African policy generally, and the economic crisis. I wish to ask you in turn: Is there one Arab official among the officials you meet who understands the dimensions of African-Arab relations?

[Question] We will answer you, Dr Ghali, with a question: In your capacity as an expert on African affairs, can you point out to us the element missing in this understanding?

[Ghali] There are various reasons. I do not wish to say that most of the Gulf states and some other Arab states gained independence after the African states had gained their independence. But even insofar as the Arab countries that gained their independence early are concerned, they have not thought of extending the framework of their diplomatic relations far. For example, Central and South America are almost totally neglected by the Arabs. We have paid eight visits to that continent and I have noticed that the Arab diplomatic presence is almost small. The Arab states are not interested in the other countries' problems. This lack of interest is not confined to Africa. The inter-Arab disputes and the division the area is experiencing are an important factor in confining the Arab states' interest to the area, even confining it to the limits of each separate state. Let us look around us to see what we find — confrontation between Algeria and Morocco, confrontation between Libya and Chad, confrontation between Syria and Iraq, confrontation between Iraq and Iran, and war in Lebanon. Thanks be to God, the relationship between the two Yemens has now improved, or else we would be talking of a confrontation between North Yemen and South Yemen. This being the situation, the Arab world cannot be concerned with other countries or other issues as long as it is preoccupied with solving its regional problems.

When something big happens, it becomes the duty of the other countries to be concerned with the Arab world's problems, with the Palestinian issue, with the Iraq-Iran conflict, with the Chad war and with the other issues and problems that concern us! When we need the African and Latin American countries to vote on our side in the United Nations, we contact them. But, if this need is absent, then we know nothing about their problems.

[Question] What is the story of Egypt's entry into the organization of French-speaking countries, and why? What are your objectives behind this step? Permit us to again remind you of what we have said regarding the emphasis on African-Egyptian integration. Is entry into such organizations an act to make up for the Arab estrangement?

[Ghali] Why do you not ask Morocco why it is present in the organization of French-speaking countries? Is Morocco not a full member of this organization whereas Egypt is not? The answer to your questions is that Egypt is interested in the African continent, as we have already pointed out. Egypt is also interested in taking part in conferences or meetings concerning the African continent, regardless of whether such meetings are at the level of the continent solely, at the European level, or at the UN level. On the other hand, I want to avoid an argument on the African action with the countries that have a presence in Africa, such as France. We cannot be opposed to France in Africa because we do not possess the resources or the capabilities. Moreover, such opposition is not needed. So, what is the means that enables me to be constantly present in Africa and in African issues? The organization of French-speaking countries is one of the means.

[Question] This is insofar as Africa is concerned. But what is the consideration governing your relations with Latin America? Are you trying to expand the sphere of movement and contacts to find more allies within the nonaligned bloc, for example? Do you continue to be interested in the Nonaligned Movement?

[Ghali] There are three main reasons for our interest in Latin America:

The first is one I have already mentioned in connection with our relations with Africa, namely to establish constant and lasting relations to resort to and employ when the need arises, not vice versa. This means that I should not race to these countries to ask for their support when I have a problem and then forget them.

The second reason is that Latin America belongs to the Third World. Relations with Latin America, given the current world division, are tantamount to some sort of bolstering of South-South relations, exactly as is the case in our relations with Africa and Asia. If I can achieve the minimum degree of consultation with the southern countries, then this would mean bolstering the southern front versus the north. The effectiveness of this policy has been well demonstrated by the OPEC, even though the OPEC is now experiencing a crisis.

The third reason is that Latin America is living under economic conditions similar to ours. Its debts to the major industrial countries amount to nearly $350 billion and we also suffer from the debt problem. Does this problem, for example, not merit some sort of consultation and coordination of policies?

In addition to all these reasons, there are purely Egyptian reasons embodied in the economic relations with some of these countries, such as the relations with Brazil, whose objective is industrial cooperation. I will not conceal that there is currently Egyptian-Brazilian cooperation in aircraft manufacturing.

[Question] Let us move to the issue of Sudan. We have noticed that there is a degree of vagueness in Sudanese-Egyptian relations, let us rather say there is extreme tepidity in relations. Is it reasonable, for example, that Egypt's relations with Ethiopia should be better than its relations with Sudan? This is the reality and yet you have stressed in your words the importance of African relations generally and Egyptian-Sudanese relations in particular.

[Ghali] No, this is not true. Egypt's relationship with Ethiopia is not metter than its relationship with Sudan. I know Sudan well and my experience with it dates back to 1944, when I went there when still a university student. There is a strong Egyptian presence in Sudan and a strong Sudanese presence in Egypt. We have one million Sudanese here in Egypt.

[Question] This is insofar as the Sudanese presence in Egypt in concerned. But what about the Egyptian presence in Sudan? It is much smaller...

[Ghali] How? All the high schools have Egyptian teachers. There are Egyptian professors at Khartoum University. These are institutions that have their importance in the people's daily life and carry weight in relations between two countries. It is true that the various integration experiments we have tried since 1922 have not succeeded for objective reasons of which you are well aware. I do not wish to express disdain or minimize the current difficulties. However, I do not wish to turn the difficulties into a barrier that prevents me from doing anything. If Egypt and Sudan have the political will, then these difficulties can be surmounted.

[Question] Who is responsible for the failure of the Egyptian-Sudanese integration experiments? Determining the responsibility helps greatly in avoiding future mistakes.

[Ghali] There are numerous objective reasons. The relationship between one backward country and another is much more difficult than the relationship between an advanced country and a backward country. Relations between Egypt and France are much easier, technically, than relations between Egypt and Sudan. Practically, there is a delay in studying numerous dossiers, a message is sent and an answer is not received until 2 years later; papers are lost; a project is not implemented due to the lack of reports; problems that seem theoretically small become very big and real in practice. These problems characterize not only Egypt's relations with Sudan but also govern the relations of most of the African countries with each other. It may be always proper to raise the question you have asked, namely: Who is responsible for the backward relations between this state and that one? Why has no integration experiment succeeded between such an African state and its neighbor despite dozens of attempts? Mali and Senegal had joint ports, airports, railroads, and currency. So why has there not been integration or unity?

The failure of integration between Egypt and Sudan is due to objective reasons emanating from the circumstances of each country. By this I do not wish to minimize the complexes that Egyptians have toward the Sudanese or that the Sudanese have toward Egyptians. These are problems but they are much smaller than the problems that existed between France and Germany.

[Question] There is, perhaps, negligence on Egypt's part. Let us cite examples. When you take the plane from Cairo to Khartoum, you can hardly find an empty seat whereas most Egyptian planes return from Khartoum empty. If we were to conduct a survey among the Egyptian people to determine how many Egyptians know Sudan, we would find that the number is very small and that it cannot, in any case, be compared with the number of Sudanese who know Egypt. Knowledge cannot, and should not, develop unilaterally because it thus becomes the basis for an unbalanced relationship.

[Ghali] I do not agree much with what you have said on Sudanese-Egyptian relations. Communication between Egypt and Sudan has never been interrupted. Since the days of Pharoh Mina up to the present, there has been a sort of relationship between the Sudanese and Nubian Egyptian cities. These relations have diminished since construction of the high dam, which has turned Lake Nasir into a natural barrier between the north and the south. But, in the areas where there are no natural barriers Aswan-Wadi Halfa, the trade and human contacts continue to exist. You perhaps want to say that there is no contact between the Cairenes and Sudan. This may be true. But, from Asyut to Sudan, the contact continues and there is social mingling and intermarriage between Sudanese and Egyptians.

[Question] But there is no real cultural exchange. We have not heard of Egyptians going to spend a vacation in Sudan or to conduct research there. We have not heard of writers who choose to go to Sudan to write books. Is all this a mere coincidence?

[Ghali] Our intellectuals are employees and an employee is not free. The free intellectual known in Europe does not exist here. The capable Egyptian intellectual does not go to Sudan unless on an official state mission for a university, for the Ministry of Health, for the Ministry of Social Affairs, or for some other ministry. But the Egyptian intellectual perhaps travels daily to Sudan by way of the broadcasting station, the press, conferences and the media.

[Question] Before we bid you farewell, we have two questions. The first concerns the Western Sahara and the second concerns the Camp David accords. Before we get to the accords and conclude our interview with it, we wish to ask you about Egyptian policy vis-a-vis the Sahara problem. It has been noticed recently that there is an Algerian-Egyptian rapproachement. It has also been noticed that Egypt has, for the first time, invited a Polisario Front delegation to take part in the conference of the African ministers of information. Can we consider this a prelude to a likely recognition of the Sahara Republic?

[Ghali] Egypt's position on the Western Sahara problem is a clear position that has not changed. It is a position of neutrality toward the dispute between Algeria and Morocco. As for the Sahara Republic, we have not recognized it and it is our preference that a referendum be held among the Saharan people to learn their opinion. A referendum is the only objective base through which the Sahara problem can be solved. As for inviting a Polisario delegation to the conference of the African ministers of information in Cairo, this does not mean a change in our policy. Moreover, we are not the ones who have issued the invitation but rather the OAU, which is entitled to invite whomever it wishes.

[Question] Dr Ghali, the feeling we have formed as a result of talking to and debating those we have met in Egypt is that Egupt has discovered the burden of the Camp David accords and, consequently, its negative impact on the country. Is there a possibility of reconsidering these accords;

[Ghali] No, no, never.

[Question] Are there apprehensions?

[Ghali] It is not an issue of apprehensions. We are bound to an international treaty and we continue to adhere to it.

[Question] Egypt was bound by a treaty to Britain. However, Egypt abrogated the treaty when the need arose. The Camp David treaty, concluded for the purpose of peace and prosperity, has not achieved its objectives. On the contrary, it has complicated Egypt's circumstances...

[Ghali] We are bound to a treaty and there are international charters. I cannot predict relations in 10 or 15 years. We are a developing country, I can say what will happen in months, but not in years. In the foreseeable future, we have no plans to reconsider the Camp David accords. We are a country that respects its treaties.

Saudi Amir Discusses Ties With Egypt, Arab Issues

PM180733 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 14 Feb 86 pp 4-8

[Interview with Amir Turki ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, brother of Saudi King Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, by Makram Muhammad Ahmad in Cairo; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Introductory passage omitted] Question: Your highness, I understand that you are visiting Egypt for the first time in 15 years. May I ask you what the reasons are for this long absence and, if I may, the reasons for your visit?

Answer: Yes, my last visit to Egypt was 15 years ago, in late 1969 to be specific, when I made a brief visit lasting only 48 hours. I was then representing the Saudi Arabian Kingdom at the conference of Arab defense and foreign ministers that was held at the Arab League to discuss Israel's threats to southern Lebanon.

Egypt always feels like a second home, so I do not feel like a stranger or alien. One of the reasons for my current visit is to see the important changes that have occurred in Egypt, because what happens in Egypt, by necessity, affects the rest of the nation. As the proverb says: Seeing is believing.

Question: What did your highness hear and see?

Answer: The truth is that I have heard and read a lot about Egypt and I felt concerned by some of what I heard and read. It appears that there are people, particularly in the Western press, who are eager to paint a very different picture from what is actually happening here. There is a desire, which can easily be perceived, to portray the situation in Egypt as lacking stability and security. In fact, I have busied myself with verifying these things. I have sat with and listened to many people and groups of different views and leanings. I have looked closely at the situation in Egypt in general and I believe that Egypt now is enjoying more stability and security than at any time in its recent history. Indeed, it is difficult to find anything like it in many other parts of the Arab world.

Question: Therefore, your visit, your highness, is private but also is not entirely without any other motive.

Answer: Yes, it is so. The day before yesterday President Mubarak received me for more than 1 hour. Together we discussed our Arab nation's affairs and the question of Egyptian-Saudi relations. Then I had a telephone conversation with King Fahd, who asked me to convey his sincere friendship and greetings to President Mubarak.

Question: Therefore, the king is aware of the mission and the visit and he blesses it.

Answer: The king is aware of the mission and the visit and he does bless it. I also told him about my earlier meeting when I met with a number of chief editors and those concerned with Egypt's Arab policy. The king begged me to ask you to look after Saudi-Egyptian relations, which need the support of those who sincerely care about the nation's interests. He also asked me to convey to the chief editors an invitation to visit the Kingdom, whether individually or in groups, so that they can ascertain the sincerity of the Kingdom's sentiments toward egypt and the Egyptians.

Question: Your Highness, I hope I am not overstepping the bounds if I move this dialogue from an exchange of politenesses to frank discussion. I am astonished, your highness, that King Fahd should ask us to look after Egyptian-Saudi relations as if the matter were up to us. We certainly support, respect, and respond to the king's wishes. But what can be done if, as some of us believe, the Kingdom, for several reasons, is still not enthusiastic about the question of Egyptian-Saudi relations?

Your highness, it often appears to us that making Egypt's return to the Arab world dependent on a unanimous Arab decision is merely an excuse and a pretext. It also appears to us that, although for many reasons that we understand, Saudi Arabia cannot take the initiative to improve the situation; it has also shown no enthusiasm for others to take such an initiative.

It is painful, your highness, that envoys should be coming and going and should be whispering in ears saying: We want and we wish but Saudi Arabia prefers to wait.

These are personal impressions of what we hear behind the scenes. I do not wish to blame official Egypt for any effects of this situation because official Egypt always says: What matters is that the Arabs should meet, even if without Egypt, because the alternative is continued disunity and rifts.

Answer: Let me tell you frankly that discussion is the shortest way to reaching the truth and achieving agreement. First, I would like to express here certain sincere beliefs that I express everywhere, in family meetings, in my meetings with Saudi officials, and in our meetings with everybody:

First, there is nobody in Saudi Arabia who is not anxious for a rapid restoration of Arab solidarity; and Arab solidarity without Egypt is meaningless and insignificant.

I know that some people say: We hope and we wish but Saudi Arabia prefers to wait...

I do not wish here to use big and bombastic words, such as I challenge or anything similar, but I would like to stress that our attitude is exactly the opposite. We have been anxious for an initiative to be taken by Baghdad, for example, particularly since Cairo, as a matter of principle, supports Iraq's steadfastness [in the Iraq-Iran war] with all it can. We have also hoped that an initiative would be taken by other parties that appeared to be in a position to be able to do so. I do not think that anybody has the right to use the Kingdom as an excuse for failing his responsibility.

The Kingdom's stand at the Islamic summit in Casablanca was clear. Maybe King Fahd did not project himself as some others did, but he more than anybody else at the meeting defended Egypt's return to the ICO. Why then should our stand be different from that?

Question: Allow me, your highness, to be even more frank than that. Stories are being circulated about a rift within the [Saudi royal] family. There are those — and you are probably among them — who want Egypt to return to its Arab world because this would contribute to achieving relative stability in the Arab situation. Yet, there is another group that believes that the situation should remain as it is.

Answer: These are groundless exaggerations because Saudi-Egyptian relations are governed by a number of fixed principles that do not change according to personal whims.

Saudi-Egyptian relations are a strategic necessity for the security of both countries and a national necessity for maintaining an equilibrium in our Arab world. This fact was voiced some 50 years ago by King 'Abd al-'Aziz, God's mercy be upon him. I believe that his words are still a vital part of Saudi policy.

I must tell you that nobody in Saudi Arabia, or anywhere in the whole Arab world, can sincerely deny the tremendous sacrifices Egypt has offered for the cause of its nation's national issues, beginning with the 1984 war and through the 1956, 1967, and 1973 wars. Only the ungrateful ones would deny these great and tremendous sacrifices. And nobody can ignore Egypt or deny its role.

I must tell you that, as one of the people closest to King Fahd, I have never heard from him anything about Egypt but appreciation and praise. But, unfortunately, there are those who are happy to see a gap in relations between the two countries. We should not enable these people to achieve their objectives. I am sure that King Fahd will not enable them to do so, and the same should be done by all those who are in favor of close ties between Egypt and the Kingdom. It was probably on the basis of this principle alone that King Fahd has asked me to ask Egyptian writers and the media to care for Egyptian-Saudi relations.

Question: Your highness, if these are the Kingdom's intentions, I wonder how you view the state of relations now?

Answer: The solution lies in direct personal meetings on the summit level. There is no alternative to a meeting between Fahd and Mubarak. This is what we should work for at the earliest possible date because the situation cannot tolerate any further delay.

Question: Your highness, what is preventing this meeting from taking place?

Answer: I think that nothing now stands in the way of such meeting, particularly in view of the sincerity of intentions of both men. I believe that it is the duty of all of us to make efforts to bring about this meeting without intermediaries and at the earliest possible date.

I believe that one of the scourges of the Arab world at certain times has been the strange thing called personal representatives of kings and presidents. These have done more harm than good. More often than not they were intermediaries of evil than of good. They believed that it was in their interest that the gap should remain and widen, because the continuation of the gap would prolong their role.

Question: Do you believe, your highness, that the present Arab situation is ripe for accepting such a step?

Answer: If Reagan and Gorbachev were able to put aside their acute ideological differences, and if each of them was able to shed the burdens of his own allies in order to sit together for a face-to-face dialogue whose primary aim was to serve joint U.S.-Soviet interests — if this could happen to the two leaders of the conflict in our contemporary world, why cannot this happen in our Arab world? I believe that our common interests and the great common dangers facing us make it necessary for Arab leaders to quickly hold a meeting in order to settle their differences.

I wonder, if the Arab leaders do not sit down now, at a summit or in bilateral meetings, in order to resolve their differences, when will they do so? I wonder what summit meetings are for if not for resolving differences that might arise between our leaders in the first place.

I say, frankly and clearly, that the Arab people can wait no longer than they have. If the Arab leaders do not sincerely work together in order to overcome the present rifts the consequence will be further chaos and disunity, something that the enemies of our

Arab nation would like to see happening. Speaking more frankly, I would say that time will have no mercy and will not wait.

I wonder how long we can look at one another and others can look at us at this presentl lowly and unbecoming level. There are pro-U.S. Arabs and pro-Soviet Arabs. When will we look on ourselves as Arabs who place Arab interests above all other considerations?

I wonder what the feeling of every Arab was as he followed the news of the fierce fighting between the two wings of power in Aden, the wings that could find no place to discuss their differences other than the Soviet Embassy in Aden? I am not objecting to the Soviet Embassy as a location, but I wonder was there not an Arab embassy suitable for this purpose?

Briefly, further slackness means further disruption and chaos.

Question: Nevertheless, your highness, some people can still find justifications to exclude Egypt and to hinder potential real Arab solidarity, sometimes under the pretext that this would be a violation of the Arab League Charter and another time allegedly because of Camp David agreements.

Answer: I would like to tell these people that no sincere Arab party can ignore Egypt's importance or exclude its role. We would be doing an injustice to ourselves if we consider the present regime in Egypt responsible for the actions of a regime that has gone and is finished. President Mubarak has brought a new trend calling for solidarity and shunning altercations. He is showing readiness to adopt a unified Arab stand that would guarantee Palestinian rights. Why therefore should we miss this opportunity?

Those who claim that Egypt has violated the Arab League Charter should ask themselves about the others who violated the Charter, sometimes by declaring war that could have been avoided and other times by entering into alliances that are harmful to the interest of the cause. Why did the Arab League use double standards? Why was its attitude toward such people unclear? Finally, the whole issue becomes irrelevant if the PLO, its entire leadership, sees the need for restoring its relations with Egypt because it is stronger with Egypt than without it.

What excuses are left to justify the Arab boycott of Egypt if 'Arafat and his comrades never stopped visiting Cairo? Also, is it not high time that we should realize that the concept of a boycott has become something of the past?

Question: Your highness, I hope you will forgive me my frankness if I raise another issue. Some people here wonder: What justifications does Saudi Arabia have to give covert help to some of the religious extremist groups in Egypt? If these groups aim at destabilizing Egypt, what security could Saudi Arabia have if Egypt's security crumbles under the fanaticism of those groups?

Answer: I have the right to say here that I challenge any witness or evidence that could corroborate these reckless allegations. It is absolutely not true that Saudi Arabia covertly or overtly helps any of these groups because we reject extremism and are aware of its danger. We also shun interference in the internal affairs of any country, let alone Egypt, the biggest Arab state.

Question: Your highness, if it is not the Saudi Government that gives such aid, maybe there are certain private institutions or Saudi personalities that, for some unclear reasons, help and encourage these trends.

Answer: I am sorry to say that, in this case, the Egyptian Government would be failing its duty if it does not strike with an iron fist at those who tamper with its security and stability regardless of who those people are. Furthermore, what sort of religious extremism would we seek to encourage? In actual fact, we are looking forward to religious moderation in Egypt.

Do you realize that we feel more at ease and reassured when the pilgrimage season brings a large number of Egyptian pilgrims. This is because with their deep belief, moderate behavior, and piety they set a good example for every Muslim pilgrim — to respect the pilgrimage rites and ignore the actions of certain pilgrimage groups that come for incitement and instigation.

Question: Your highness, is Saudi Arabia considering dispensing with the services of Egyptian workers in favor of workers imported from Asia and, if that is the case, what are the reasons?

Answer: I think that there is no Saudi who does not highly appreciate the wonderful efforts that our Egyptian brothers have made in order to help us implement the development projects in our country. Saudi Arabia has been importing workers from all parts of the world, both from the East and the West, from Asia and Africa. But none were equal to the Egyptian worker in his loyalty, perseverance, and efficiency, whether he is a university professor, doctor, engineer, teacher, or construction worker. Saudi Arabia will always remain grateful for the efforts made by the Egyptian brothers in all fields, not only in recent times but also in the distant past.

If some companies recently turned towards employing Asian workers, I believe that the reason for that is because the Egyptian market has been unable to provide all the categories and all the demands. Perhaps you yourself have been suffering from a shortage of certain skilled workers.

Question: Your highness, we have devoted much time to discussing Egyptian-Saudi relations. May I ask how you view the present situation in the Arab world?

Answer: The situation does not augur well. If things continue as they are, we will only reap total chaos that will destroy everything. The Arab leaders must do something in order to halt this fragmentation and disunity.

We must act jointly in accordance with the dictates of the higher national interests and abandon this terrible division — pro-Soviet Arabs and pro-U.S. Arabs. The only salvation for these people is Arab solidarity based on good intentions and awareness of the dangers menacing us as well as realizing the Arab nation's interests.

We must ask ourselves how long we can continue to ask for assistance from others in order to resolve our disputes, which no one can resolve except ourselves. We must ask ourselves how long we can go on depending on abroad for our arms and food.

We must ask ourselves how long our investments can continue to go abroad, what guarantees we have for those investments there, and why we have failed to create mutual trust that would ensure keeping Arab investments in the Arab countries.

I believe that those who thought that Arab investments abroad would be more secure recently learned many hard lessons proving that they were wrong.

We must ask ourselves how we can establish Arab solidarity on the basis of mutual interests in which our roles complement rather than contradict one another, on firm economic bases that link our common desinites on a foundaiton of planning and science.

Question: Your highness, I am surprised by what you say because there was a golden opportunity to achieve this when the Arab world agreed on establishing the Military Industrialization Authority. However, the authority, which under its constitution it was agreed to keep it unaffected by any political disputes, fell apart when the first political dispute occurred. It collapsed as a result of the dispute between Egypt and the Arabs over Camp David.

Answer: You have asked me a frank question and frankness makes it incumbent on me to tell you that this is not the whole truth. The truth is that certain beneficiary groups here that allied themselves with beneficiary groups elsewhere have turned this extremely important utility, which could have played an important role in the interest of the Arab nation, into a utility serving their interests in brokerage and commission.

The project was not based on a sound scientific basis. As I have already said, we have allowed pimples on the face of our political life to grow into tumors. It was these that ruined the Military Industrialization Authority.

I believe that President Husni Mubarak knows the entire story. I gave him many of the details when he was vice president. I used to complain to him about those parasites on the Arb nation under such false titles as presidential personal envoy and the like. I believe that the Arab Military Industrialization Authority failed the first test because its structure was not adequately sound.

Question: I would like, your highness, to ask you about Saudi Arabia's attitude toward the Soviet Union. Some people have gone so far as to attach political significance to the visit by the Saudi basketball team to the Soviet Union for a game there. Is this some kind of new diplomacy that could lead to normal relations with the Soviet Union?

Answer: I think that there has actually been some exaggeration in attaching political significance to the Saudi basketball team's visit to the Soviet Union. The team was received with great cordiality, for which we thank the Soviets. But the question of diplomatic relations is another matter.

I believe that there is now a reasonable volume of trade and economic ties between Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union. Also, we do not see the Soviet Union as a power to which we must be hostile. As Arabs, we have absolutely no interest in being hostile to the Soviet Union or the United States. Our interest lies in joint cooperation, ensuring equal interests free of pressure or dictates.

In other words, we have no complex toward the Soviet Union, but the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan represents a major stumbling block to the development of relations with them. I believe that the departure of the Soviets from Afghanistan would smooth the road and make it easier.

Ramadan Meets 'Arafat 19 Feb on War Situation

JN191943 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1910 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Baghdad, 19 Feb (INA) — Taha Yasin Ramadan, RCC member and first deputy prime minister, met with Yasir 'Arafat, PLO Executive Committee chairman, here this evening. The two sides discussed the latest developments in the Iranian aggression and the new developments in the Palestinian cause.

The first deputy prime minister stressed that the military situation is strong and emphasized the determination of the Iraqi forces and Iraqi people to wipe out the aggressors, crush their aggression, and foil all their hopes of desecrating Iraqi soil.

Yasir 'Arafat reiterated the Palestinian people's support for their Iraqi brothers in their defense of Arab land.

Tariq 'Aziz Speaks to UN Security Council

JN191725 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1030 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] New York, 19 Feb (INA) — Iraq has stated that the new Iranian aggression against it seeks to occupy the northern part of the Arab Gulf and to create a new political, military, and economic state of affairs in the region serving Iranian objectives of expansion. Iraq also emphasized that through its current aggression, Iran has not only Iraq as its target but also all countries in the region.

Iraq said it rejects any approach which does not clearly lead to the end of the war and that it will not participate in it and will not be held responsible for it. Iraq also said that the UN Security Council in its discussion of the Iraqi-Iranian conflict faces a serious and anomalous situation because one of the parties to the dispute insists on violating all basic principles of international law.

This was contained in a speech Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi deputy prime minister and foreign minister, delivered at the outset of UN Security Council deliberations on developments in the Iraqi-Iranian war here last night. Tariq 'Aziz explained that Iran succeeded in exercising this anomalous trend in view of the United Nation's preoccupation with some aspects of this war without putting the necessary pressure on Iran to make it end the war through a comprehensive settlement. Tariq 'Aziz said that these policies have really served the Iranian regime's objectives of pursuing the war and have helped its attempts to occupy Iraq and to threaten stability and security in the Arab Gulf region.

'Aziz stressed that following the new Iranian aggression, the time has come for the UN Security Council to firmly confront the dangerous situation which poses a threat to peace and security in the region and the world as a result of the Iranian policy of continuing aggression.

Tariq 'Aziz addressed Security Council members by saying: You have to shoulder your responsibilities seriously in accordance with the UN Charter to end the war in order to establish a just, comprehensive peace guaranteeing the two sides' rights and interests. He warned the Council against the policy of eclectic and partial tackling and ambiguous formulas. He called for focusing efforts on ending the war in accordance with international laws. He affirmed Iraq's rejection of any approach differing from the UN Charter, international law, and principles which states have entrenched when settling international disputes.

'Aziz explained that false diplomatic interpretations caused rivers of blood and an enormous amount of destruction and encouraged the Iranian regime to insist on war with a haughtiness unprecedented in the history of the United Nations. He stressed: Iraq will not accept any endeavor which does not clearly and unambiguously relate to ending the war and that Iraq will not participate in or assume the responsibility for such endeavors.

He pointed out that the Iraqi people bravely defended their homeland's sovereignty and the security of soil, dignity, and honor. The Iraqi people offered great human and material sacrifices for this purpose. He emphasized that Iraq's presentation of its conflict with Iran to the UN Security Council does not stem from any weakness or inability. This is only an exercise of Iraq's rights and responsibilities as a UN member.

He called on the UN Security Council to assume its responsibilities in order to decisively place Iran before its responsibilities. He said that Iran will either have to accept UN principles and the UN Charter, which were put forward to organize relations among states and peoples in the modern age, or isolate itself from the international community. Tariq 'Aziz asserted the need for the Security Council, which is charged with safeguarding security, stability, and peace in the world, to adopt appropriate measures to tackle the situation.

Iran Accused of Using Chemical Weapons 12, 13 Feb

JN182151 Baghdad INA in Arabic 2030 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] United Nations, 18 Feb (INA) — Iraq's permanent UN representative 'Ismat Kittani delivered six letters to the Security Council members holding the Iranian regime responsible for using chemical weapons against Iraqi forces. The letters, which were distributed on the instructions of the UN secretary general, affirm that the Iranian regime fired 500 shells on residential areas in Al-Khasib in Al-Basra Governorate on 11 February, killing two civilians, wounding another civilian and a female student, and damaging property, including the main waterpipe that supplies the area with drinking water. The letters explained that, in view of the heavy losses the Iranian enemy had sustained, it used chemical weapons against Iraq on 12 and 13 February, believing that this despicable act would extricate it from the dilemma in which it had placed itself.

Reportage on Combat Operations in War With Iran

Updated Situation at Battlefront

JN200712 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0610 GMT 20 Feb 86

[By Usamah al-Salihi]

[Excerpts] Baghdad, 20 Feb (INA) — The southern Iraqi column at the Al-Faw front continues to advance considerable distances toward Ra's al-Bishah on the coast overlooking the Arab Gulf. In the meantime, positions and liberated areas are reinforced with Iraqi fighters.

The Iraqi missile and artillery corps last night continued their intensive fire against the Iranian units which tried to send fresh troops to the battlefield under cover of darkness. Three enemy supply boats were destroyed and sunk in the Arab Gulf waters.

As for the northern and central columns, the Iranian dispatch of reinforcements to their fronts gave those two columns a chance to destroy the largest possible part of the Iranian war machine. The two columns continued to tear up the advancing Iranian forces and their weapons and equipment after destroying their attempts to launch counterattacks on the Iraqi forces. These Iraqi strikes succeeded in tightening the grip around the Iranian forces and in intensifying pressure on them from all directions.

Press reports say that the battlefield is covered with dead Iranian soldiers who were uprooted from their positions by our strong fire. This is confirmed by the Iranian Mojahedin-e Khalq organization which said that the number of Iranian dead has risen to over 35,000 soldiers. These reports indicate that what is taking place on the battlefield should not be viewed only from the angle of an offensive because the Iraqi advance is coupled step by step with calculations related to the defense of the liberated territory. The Iraqi Air force is expected to carry out intensive offensive operations today as appropriate weather conditions are prevailing at the battlefront. Yesterday, the Iraqi pilots carried out 745 combat missions. Thus, the number of missions carried out during the past 10 days amounted to 4,548.

WAM: Iran Retreating From Al-Faw

GF200703 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0620 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 20 Feb (WAM) — In an interview with an *AL-ITTIHAD AL-USBU'I* correspondent, an Iraqi military source stated in Basra last night that Iraqi monitoring equipment had monitored Iranian wireless systems making calls to Iranian military units in Al-Faw to pull back into Iranian territory and to abandon their heavy weapons, which cannot be carried while crossing water due to the pressure of the large-scale Iraqi offensive and Iraqi intensive fire.

Navy Sinks 3 Supply Ships 19 Feb

JN192004 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
1945 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] A military spokesman has stated the following: In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. The brave men of the Navy who are protecting security in the Arab Gulf and are the efficient defenders of Iraqi soil and waters continue, with the help of God, to confront any enemy attempt to reinforce its frustrated forces from the sea. Our brave gunboats dealt devastating blows to a large supply ship and another medium-sized one north of the Arab Gulf at 2050 [1750 GMT] today, blowing them up and sinking them. At 2135 [1835 GMT] today, our Navy dealt another blow to a third supply ship, immediately sinking it. Proceed with more blows, O brave men of our Navy. You are worthy of all tributes.

[Dated] 19 February 1986

Destroys Another

JN200809 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
0800 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] A military spokesman has stated the following: In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. The brave Navy men continue their glorious defense of the Arab Gulf waters, cutting off with successive blows the supply routes of the defeated enemy forces. The brave Navy men managed to hit a medium-sized supply ship at 0015 today [2115 GMT 19 February]. It was blown up and sunk. Congratulations to you on your victories, O men of our Navy, the guards and defenders of the homeland.

[Dated] 20 February 1986

Sinks Rescue Gunboat

JN192138 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
2128 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Unscheduled announcement]

[Text] A military spokesman has stated the following: In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Our brave Navy continues to inflict successive losses on the criminal enemy. The enemy sent one of its gunboats to rescue the sailors of one of the targets which was sunk this evening. One of our gunboats intercepted it, destroying and sinking it at 2245 [1945 GMT] today. Blessed be your hands, O brave men of the Navy, and may God guide your steps on the road to victory.

[Dated] 19 February 1986

Planes Down F-4 Early 20 Feb

JN200752 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0745 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Feb (INA) — The Iraqi aircraft shot down an Iranian F-4 plane at 0950 [0650 GMT] today. A military spokesman told INA that the plane was downed when it tried to penetrate Iraq's international border at the VII Army Corps front.

Down C-130 Transport Plane

JN200926 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0920 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Feb (INA) — Iraqi fighter planes have downed a huge Iranian C-130 transport plane. A military spokesman told INA that the Iraqi pilots intercepted the Iranian plane and downed it in the Ahvaz area at 1151 [0851 GMT] today.

714 Air Force Missions 19 Feb

JN191604 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1555 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Baghdad, 19 Feb (INA) — An authoritative military spokesman has stated that the Iraqi fighter planes and helicopter gunships today carried out 714 raids on Iranian forces in the VII Army Corps sector and on military facilities in Iranian military camps. In a statement to INA, the spokesman said that Iraqi fighter planes made 464 combat sorties while helicopter gunships made 250 combat sorties against Iranian forces. The spokesman added that the fighter planes and helicopters which inflicted destruction on the Iranian forces and targets safely returned to base.

Communique on 18-19 Feb Actions

JN191821 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1700 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Communique No 2,122 issued by the Armed Forces General Command on 19 February 1986]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. We have repeatedly warned the ignorant and suspect Iranian rulers against the consequences of committing aggression against our land and have repeatedly tried to make them understand that they have always failed in keeping any inch of our territory, in paralyzing for one moment our people's march, or in obstructing their endeavors to achieve their noble objectives. What our valiant Armed Forces have achieved and are achieving confirms that the enemy intentions are immersed in evil.

These enemies have only two choices: either to gather their remnants and try to escape from their tribulation or to be wiped out without mercy, as no quarter can be given to the aggressors. Our land will continue to be ours. We will continue to enjoy our sovereignty and to proceed on the right path. God will succor those who deserve it.

The following is a roundup of activities for yesterday evening and today:

1. The upshot of our units' activities in the VII Army Corps front are as follows:

a. The heroic southern coastal column continued its offensive yesterday afternoon, penetrating enemy positions one after another to regain the land which the enemy is desecrating. Following a series of successive battles, the aggressors were repulsed 3 km. Thus the enemy was forced to retreat 5.5 km yesterday. The battles waged by the southern column were splendid in terms of coordination and performance. The heroism of the fighters — commanders, officiers, and other ranks — was manifested in the most excellent manner. No one other than men who are loyal to their homeland, love their people, and have taken their leader as their example could have achieved such an enthusiastic advance. During last night, our men mapped the positions which were liberated.

At 0630 [0330 GMT] today, the collapsing enemy forces carried out a series of frustrated attempts to approach our new positions. Our brave men confronted the enemy forces with all types of weapons, and with the efficient support of the artillery, the Iraqi fighter aircraft, and the helicopter gunships all enemy attempts were aborted. Our forces imposed their complete control over the situation. The enemy sustained very heavy losses in our defensive and offensive battles opposite the southern column. May God bless the men of Iraq — commanders, officers, and other ranks. You are the pride of the Arab nation and a source of the entire world's admiration.

b. With respect to the central and northern columns, our heroic forces are engaging the enemy in battle, using all types of weapons. The enemy sustained important losses opposite these two columns. The enemy was seen exerting strenuous efforts to evacuate its losses.

2. Our Air Force, which has inflicted heavy losses on the criminal enemy from which the enemy will continue to suffer, continued intensive and successive raids on enemy units, military hardware, and camps, sowing death, destruction, and terror among enemy ranks. With God's help, our Air Force carried out the following missions:

a. Since this morning, our planes have been pounding new groups of Khomeyniites with their missiles in the VII Army Corps front, thus providing adequate support for our ground forces in 466 combat missions.

b. At 0945 today, a devastating air strike was dealt to the Khaneh military camp. Our eagles destroyed the camp installations, wiped out the Khomeyniite remnants there, and set their ammunition and armaments depots on fire.

c. At 0949 today, our valiant eagles made another successful air strike against the Jaldian military camp, inflicting massive losses on enemy installations, equipment, and men and leaving enemy ammunition and armaments depots in flames.

d. At 1047 today, the brave eagles of the air crushed enemy attempts to repair the Chuyebdeh bridge and with their missiles aborted these attempts and destroyed 10 vehicles which were parked near the bridge.

e. At 1313 today, our planes carried out a new raid on the Ganaveh oil pipeline intersection, pounding their targets and setting them ablaze.

f. At 1315 today, our daring planes carried out a surprise, destructive raid on the forward Iranian naval command center on the island of Dara, from which the enemy is supervising naval activities and reinforcing its frustrated units. A number of enemy naval units are also anchored there. Our bombs pounded the center over the heads of its occupants and transformed it into burning ashes. The Air Force bombs also wreaked havoc on enemy naval units.

g. At 1435 today, while one of our planes was chasing the Khomeyniites in the (Bahbahan) area 350 km inside Iranian territory, it discovered a huge enemy communications plane of the C-130 type which performs tasks similar to those of AWACS, as it carries similar communications equipment. Our plane fired its missiles which do not miss their targets and turned it into splinters scattering in the air.

h. Several of our planes carried out a successful raid on the (?Musak) and Robat camps at 1434 and 1443 respectively this afternoon. Our planes pounded their targets in the two camps and inflicted heavy losses on enemy forces in these two camps. After carrying out all these missions, our planes safely and triumphantly returned to base, crowned with laurels of victory and glowing with pride. We ask God to reward them for what they have achieved for their people.

One of our planes fell over the battlefield and its pilot was seen bailing out safely. We hold the Iranian side responsible for the life of this pilot.

3. Heroism is manifested in all its forms in what the heroic helicopter gunship knights are offering in terms of bountiful offerings, unique courage, and heroic enthusiasm. All day today, the helicopter gunship knights flew over the battlefield, sowing death among enemy ranks and destruction on its military hardware and providing the best support for our ground forces. The knights carried out 279 combat sorties today inflicting on the Khomeyniites further losses. They safely and triumphantly returned to base, satisfied with the success God has granted them.

4. Our brave men of the Navy continue to effectively participate in the battle of honor and dignity and are daily inflicting on the retreating enemy forces heavy losses in life and equipment. Having had the privilege of shooting down one of the two planes which fell over our territory yesterday, they shot down, with God's help, another enemy fighter plane, an F-5, over the VII Army Corps front at 0950 today. Blessed be the courageous lions of the sea. Glory to our courageous Navy. Proceed forward to achieve new victories.

5. A heroic force in the VI Army Corps sector east of the Tigris attacked the enemy, destroyed three enemy rafts, and captured another raft and two boats. In the sector east of Al-Basra, six enemy soldiers were killed and one heavy-caliber machinegun was destroyed. In the II Army Corps central sector, four enemy positions were destroyed and several enemy soldiers were either killed or wounded by one of our brave patrols. Blessed be your arms, O brave men, wherever you may be in the trenches of dignity and honor.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 19 February 1986

Iranian Soldiers Reportedly Hospitalized in Israel

JN191923 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1914 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Nicosia, 19 Feb (INA) — Palestinian sources in the West Bank have told the INA correspondent in Nicosia that wounded Iranian soldiers are being treated in occupied Palestine. In a telephone contact with the INA correspondent, these sources said that the Iranian soldiers arrived at the (Rambam) hospital in Haifa last Friday and that Zionist military medical teams are treating them there.

Husayn Addresses Nation on Mideast Peace

JN192044 Amman Television Service in Arabic
1600 GMT 19 Feb 86

["Text" of King Husayn address to the nation; in Amman on 19 February — recorded]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Fellow citizens, Palestinian brothers everywhere, Arab brothers:

I extend my greetings to you all. It is from you, from your public awareness, from my belonging to you and from my loyalty to your aims and aspirations that I derive my ability to outline the salient features of our primary cause, as we perceive them here in Amman, only some miles from Jerusalem. I seek guidance and assistance from the Almighty.

In the past few days, Amman has been the center of attention for much of the world, drawing media people and journalists from all quarters. News coming out of Amman was reported on the front pages of world newspapers and occupied a prominent place in agency reports and news bulletins. But the content of these reports reflected mere speculation or expectations on the possible outcome of discussions held with us and with leading officials of our government by the Palestinian leadership while in Amman. Amman, along with concerned world circles, went through a period of expectation, but we preferred not to issue any declarations or communiques until matters under intensive discussion, whether between us and the Palestinian leadership or among its own members, became clearer.

Now that a measure of clarity has become apparent, I consider it my duty as well as my responsibility towards you, being in the thick of events and in the in eye of the hurricane, to appraise you of the most recent phase of political endeavor with regard to our foremost cause: Palestine, its land, its holy places, its people, and their identiy.

Dear brothers, before I turn to the details, and in light of obstacles and surprises which lay in store for us, exceeding our expectations when we first embarked on this chapter of political action, it would be well to remind ourselves that this was not the first round of political effort on our part since the war of 1967. There were several previous endeavors to this end. These were:

1. Jordan's role in formulating Security Council Resoluion 242 in November 1967.

2. Cooperation with the United Nations secretary general's special envoy Ambassador Gunnar Jarring in his attempt to implement this resolution. This effort, which was coordinated with Egypt, produced no results.

3. Participation with Egypt in accepting the Rogers Plan of 1970 and attempting to secure its implementation. This attempt failed.

4. Participation in the international peace conference in Geneva in December 1973 and in subsequent efforts in 1974 and 1975 with the then U.S. secretary of state, leading to the disengagement agreements, first between Egypt and Israel, then between Israel and Syria. On our front, however, we were unable to arrive at a similar agreement.

5. Coordination with Egypt, Syria and the PLO in 1976 and 1977 with a view to resuming the international conference, with PLO participation. The attempt failed as a result of President al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem.

6. A first attempt at coordination with the PLO, between October 1982 and April 1983, to arrive at an incipient bilateral formula which would form the basis of a larger Arab formula. This was conducted in the wake of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the PLO exodus from Beirut. The results fell short of our expectations.

7. A second attempt at coordination with the PLO, between the summer of 1984 and February 1986, on which I shall elaborate later.

This brief summary, brothers and sisters, shows that Jordan was either a party to various attempts to reach a just, peaceful, permanent, and comprehensive settlement or an initiator of political action toward this end.

The only initiative from which Jordan excluded itself was that leading to the Camp David accords, which it refused to join for reasons known to all. It is also evident that failure at any particular stage did not deter Jordan from joining or initiating subsequent action which held the promise of seriousness or sincerity. There were two reasons for Jordan's determination and consistent policy:

First: Jordan believes in peace. As a memebr of the United Nations, it subscribes to the resolving of international conflicts through peaceful means and subcribes to peaceful coexistence among states on the basis of rights, justice, and equity as stipulated in the U.S. Charter and international law.

Second: By virtue of: its immediate historical and geographical links with Palestine and the Palestinian cause; its observation of developments in the occupied territories, particularly in Jerusalem; its informed understanding of Zionist thinking as well as of Israeli plans seeking, on the one hand, to take advantage of current Arab disarray, weakness, and paralysis and, on the other, of Israeli military superiority based on long-range planning, persistent effort, and vast, uninterrupted and stable material assistance.

Jordan recognizes the gravity of the danger inherent in the state of no war no peace first and foremost to the Palestinian people and to Jerusalem, then to Jordan's own national security and, ultimately, to the Arab nation at large.

Brothers and sisters, if we are to remain content with slogans and generalizations, the danger currently posed by continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories — as a physical manifestation of Israeli expansionism supported by military might — can only become more menacing. The danger must be examined and analyzed in order to ascertain its extent and its various components. Only in this manner could it be removed from the sphere of emotional speculation and be transformed into a tangible reality giving rise to a rational and serious will to thwart it.

For a variety of reasons, there is a need for a thorough airing of this question. The shared destiny of Jordan and Palestine requires it. So does the time factor, in view of the fact that the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights have been occupied for close to 19 years. The situation is further aggravated by prolonged failure to find a solution and by the growing threat to the Palestinians' true identity resulting from the gradual displacement of the Palestinian people. One also has to consider ramifications with regard to Jordan, the region, and the world. In the final analysis, a people without its land is nothing more than a disjointed community.

Identity without a homeland is but a reservoir of sad memories. Our aim should be the land itself. Now, as at the turn of the century, the Palestinian cause is inseparable from the Palestinian land, which today is the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. This being the case, the Palestinian people, steadfast on Palestinian territory, are our primary concern. For a different reason, they are also the primary concern of the enemy. They are the major obstacle to the advancement of expansionist Zionist programs. Their legitimate resistance poses an overt challenge to claims by Israel and its friends and supporters, be they states or communities, that Israel is a free and democratic society, and places it as an open test within the sight and hearing of the world.

Brothers and sisters, if most of us have so far failed to grasp these rudimentary facts, the enemy has not. It is on the basis of these facts that Israel's aims and policies were formulated from the very beginning: to occupy the land of Palestine and expand the territory of Israel. The Israeli leadership's motives were two-fold. Expanding Israeli territory, through occupation of Palestinian and other neighboring Arab lands, would fulfill one of Zionism's cherished aims while at the same time achieving, from their point of view, a security need arising more from psychological considerations than from those of space, distance, and topography, which Israel attempts to highlight whenever the security issue is raised.

The objective circumstances of its creation, in terms of time and place, lie behind Israel's psychological preoccupation with security. Unlike most of the Third World states in Asia and Africa which gained their independence in the wake of World War II, Israel was not a colony of an occupying state because it simply did not exist. Had this been the case, the battle for coexistence would never have arisen, since it would have been a foregone conclusion. But because Israel was planted on lands expropriated from Arabs at a time when they were fighting for freedom, independence, and territorial integrity, the problem of Israel's acceptance by the large Arab body — and hence of coexistence — has loomed large.

Recognizing this, Israel tried to impose itself by force, thus embarking on a vicious circle: The more force it used to impose itself, the greater the Arab qualms and rejection, which in turn served to fuel Israeli fears growing from an awareness of the recentness of its imposed creation in the midst of a vast sea of Arabs and, consequently, to trigger greater security concerns. Had security been a purely military matter, the Arabs would have had greater need to seek security guarantees in the context of peace discussions, given Israel's vast arsenal of sophisticated weapons and its strategic alliance with the United States.

This fact was brought home in the wake of the aggression of 1967, when, through acceptance of Resolutions 242 in 1967 and 338 in 1973, neighboring Arab countries also acepted Israel's existence. Instead of reciprocating this major concession, Israel procrastinated in order to gain time to create new facts in the occupied territories as a prelude to annexing them.

The Israeli leadership has persisted in its claim that it was not convinced either by Arab assurances regarding its borders — assurances growing out of Arab acceptance of international resolutions pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict — or by the fact that the Arabs were prepared to arrive at a just and durable peace with Israel. In order to impose its will by force, Israel continues to hold on to the concept of security based on territorial expansion and military strength.

The crux of the problem lies in the fact that while claiming not to be convinced by Arab assurances as to its security, Israel insists on rejecting the legitimacy of Palestinian national rights.

On the question of territorial expansion, Israel has had to face two problems.

First: that of perpetuating the occupation, with intent to expropriate and gradually absorb territory. Military strength was the obvious means of dealing with this problem.

Second: that of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, who succeeded, through their steadfastness, to press their cause on the agendas of international bodies, headed by the United Nations, where the affirmation of Palestinian national rights and their restoration was the subject of a large number of resolutions. The Palestinian issue has remained the subject of debate at every successive UN session, as well as in various international conferences and regional organizations, gaining or losing importance depending on global circumstances and concerns.

Given a state of affairs which enabled it to prolong its occupation of Palestinian territory through military strength, notwithstanding the will of the international community and Palestinian resistance, Israel proceeded to define its next goal: separating Palestinians from their land. For this purpose, Israel perceives the Palestinians as two peoples: a people on the outside with little weight, as far as Israeli designs on Palestinian territory are concerned, because they have already been separated from their land; and a people on the inside who constitute the real dilemma and are the primary enemy, precisely because of their physical presence on the land.

The question for Israel is how to effect a separation between the land and those Palestinians. For this purpose, Israel has adopted an integrated approach along two parallel lines:

First: to expropriate the land gradually by settlement and other means.

Second: to exert pressure on the Palestinians in order to uproot them from their land.

These two lines of approach are the backbone of Israel's policy on the Palestinian issue. However, it has become clear to Israel, after close to 19 years of occupation, that while it has made some progress on the first issue, it has met with little success on the other, mainly because of the steadfast attachment of the Palestinians to their national soil and the measures and policies we have implemented in Jordan to foil Israeli objectives — administrative measures as well as economic, financial, educational, and information policies.

The result of it all has been a major political dilemma currently dominating the political scene in Israel, preoccupying all political forces there. What should Israel do with the Palestinians, especially since their continued existence on their land, coupled with resistance to occupation, has created new tensions in addition to those already prevailing between Israel and the Arab states? These new tensions, which are a product of occupation-cum-settlement, transcend the conventional occupation and directly affect the occupying state by bringing it face to face with the issues of human rights and democracy. They touch upon Israel's international image and its very future. This poses the following question for the Israeli leadership:

How is Israel to behave toward the Palestinian people in the occupied territories at a time when it has almost completed the annexation of territory? Does it allow them to remain there or does it throw them out? If it allows them to stay, does it offer them the right of Israeli citizenship? Or does it adopt the apartheid model of South Africa?

If it is to evict them, how is that to be accomplished or justified? If it is to grant them citizenship, what is to happen to the concept of a pure Jewish state as envisaged by the founders of Zionism? Will world Jewry continue its support for Israel if it becomes a binational state?

If Israel treats the Palestinians along the lines of apartheid, how will it handle the democratic image vaunted by its supporters? How is it to reconcile its stance as the protector of persecuted Jewry while persecuting others who, despite all Israeli attempts at concealment, are in fact the legitimate owners of the land?

These are the vital questions currently under discussion in the corridors of Israeli politics at party and government levels. As we see it, they lead to three Israeli options.

1. The first argues for the annexation of the greater and less densely populated part of occupied Palestinian territory and the return to Jordan of the remaining and more densely populated segment. It is referred to as the Jordanian option, which we have rejected.

2. The second option calls for annexing all the territories and granting autonomy to the Palestinian inhabitants, without sovereignty over their land, on the ground that they are a large foreign community living on Israeli territory. This is an attempt to separate the Palestinians from their land as a prelude to their eviction when conditions may permit. The Palestinians have rejected this option and so have we.

3. The third option demands the annexation of territory and the eviction of the inhabitants to the east by military force. This prospect, however, does not lend itself to mere rejection, but requires much preparation on our part to ensure that it does not happen.

It is important to note:

First: that each of these options is rooted in two considerations: the inescapable shared destiny of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples and the separation of the Palestinians from their land.

Second: that the third option, dependent on military force, is of a more recent nature than the other two. It surfaced during the last Israeli elections, and its proponents have seats in the Knesset today. It is gaining momentum, coloring current Israeli politics with an extreme rightwing hue. It has recently found an enthusiastic ally in the American right, which believes that the Israeli right is capable of protecting its interests and acting as a potent force in an Arab region torn by division and intellectual strife and plagued with inaction. The growth or decline of this movement in Israel depends on several factors, of which we the Arabs are perhaps the most important — depending on our level of awareness, the positions we take, and the course of action we adopt.

Is it not time we, and particularly our Palestinian brothers outside the occupied territories, whatever their affiliation, drew the proper conclusions and directed our attention to the land itself and the people living on it? Is it not time we identified the real issue and agreed to define the most immediate threat? Should we not come to a proper realization of the importance of steadfastness of the Palestinians in the occupied territories in their battle for survival? Is it not the Palestinians who, through their stubborn steadfastness, are carrying out the historic task of preserving the Palestinian identity and embodying national Palestinian rights on Palestinian soil?

What should we do for a people who, despite all organized pressure to uproot them, persist in tilling the soil, reaping harvests, and raising their children as best they can? If we are sincere in claiming that they are our foremost concern, what should we do for them? How do we reciprocate their marvelous steadfastness, they whose splendid resistance has proved day after day and year after year that a persecuted person who resists in his homeland is far better than a displaced one who threatens and postures. How should we support a people who, through their continued, distinctive existence on their land, endow their cause with vitality and justice?

What should we do for Jerusalem and the holy places which we mourn night and day? Will our earnest supplications lead to their rescue? Will they be protected by our constant glorification of their history and architecture? What are we really doing for Jerusalem and the holy mosque, or for the land and people there, other than supplying some material help, which is decreasing every year, or ringing slogans after meetings or coferences, or well-turned phrases in communiques, or the gist of arguments and disagreements between conflicting groups, or messages of despair emanating from Arab disarray?

You may well share with me the question of where the Palestine issue would have been today, or of what could have happened to the Palestinians in the occupied territories, if we in Jordan had chosen to sever our connections with them or relinquish our obligations toward them as individuals or institutions, or set up barriers to their produce or commodities? What would lie in store for us all if we were to step aside and content ourselves with mere posturing?

Brothers and sisters, because the third danger or third option, like the first and second, aims at resolving the Israeli dilemma at the expense of both the Palestinians and Jordan, Jordan has a special role to play, quite distinct from those of the other Arab countries.

While it is true that Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt share a geographical contiguity with Israel, Jordan is the prime target of Israel's step-by-step policy. Thus, the distinctive relationship between Jordan and Palestine is not a question we take lightly. We bring it up in order to draw attention to objective facts and conditions which the enemy attempts to exploit for the purpose of implementing its expansionist policy at the expense of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples. The common links between the two peoples are not only a matter of shared history, experience, culture, economy, and social structure, but also a question of destiny. They represent a confluence of interest as well as of harm.

If Israel seeks to utilize it to its own benefit at our expense, then we, too, should resort to all national means, emanating from our responsibility to the nation and future generations, of bending our shared destiny to our benefit while we are facing these clear Israeli plans. I do not believe we need to elaborate on the true intent of the special Jordanian- Palestinian relationship to our Arab brothers. It is not a condition we created in order to set up an axis or forge a means for separate action. It is a fact recognized and taken into account by the entire world, just as it is by the enemy. We hope that our Arab brothers will heed it too and take it into their own account in the process of formulating positions or planning their actions.

Joint Jordanian-Palestinian action growing from this special relationship should be construed as initial movement in the service of common Arab action. In the final analysis, any progress represents progress on the joint Arab level, which cannot be achieved without complementarity between Jordanian- Palestinian action on one hand, and common Arab endeavors on the other.

The Palestinian people in the occupied territories are weak without the PLO. By the same token, the Palestinian people and the PLO, which represents its aspirations, hopes and interests, are weaker without Jordan, and all three are weaker without the Arab nation as a whole. This has been our vision in all our endeavors. The components are as clear as the sun; and the position we occupy vis-a-vis the Palestinian issue on the one hand, and the Arab world on the other, provides us with no alternative vision. In Jordan we stand in two circles at once: one representing the Palestine tragedy and the other residing in national commitment. This has dictated our position on direct confrontation with Israel on military and political levels.

One facet of our conflict with Israel perhaps lies in the fact that Israel is attempting to dislodge us from the circle of national commitment into the sphere of tragedy. On our part, we are resisting this with all our might, attempting in the process to endow the circle of commitment with content which is both practical and effective. National commitment is not a one-way street, nor is it a passive or negative stance. Armed with true content, it leads to proper preparation and action. If national commitment is taken to mean a state of inaction in regard to declared positions and is characterized by fatalism, dependence, or expectancy of what lies in store, this would mean only one thing to us; acquiescence in the fait accompli as well as a willing acceptance of the loss of what remains of Palestinian land and of the resulting destructive consequences allowing greater room for expansionist Zionist designs.

It is for this reason, dear brothers, that Jordan had to act and must continue to act. We cannot possibly close down borders and deal with the issue as separate from us. Experience has shown that inaction leads to erosion in positions, as well as on the ground. The state of no war-no peace which has been imposed on us is a salient manifestation of this inaction. We must break out of its grasp. We must absolutely assert that the suffocation resulting from giving in to the state of no war-no peace is as reprehensible as the suicide arising from action leading to the relinquishing of rights. As we move towards peace, we reject the latter proposition as strongly as we do the former.

Fellow citizens, Palestinian brothers, Arab brothers, this, then, is the way we view the Palestinian issue, its ramifications and probable developments. Our understanding is rooted in a sense of realism but is also committed to our goals and is informed by the requirements of Jordanian and Arab security in equal measure. Our obligations to Palestine, our policies, positions and our actions are all based on this view. As I indicated earlier, it was natural and reasonable, in light of the conflict and its possible ramifications, to direct our efforts along two parallel approaches in order to achieve the objectives defined at the Jordanian and Arab levels: restoring the occupied territories and the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people within a framework of a comprehensive, just and permanent peace. The two approaches were: a defensive approach, comprising a build-up of internal military strength and a promotion of development to the limits of available resources and capabilities; and an interactive approach, comprising political movement in all areas and at all levels.

At the level of building up our internal strength, our planning and implementation emanated from the following principles:

1. Optimal utilization of our capabilities as well as of our human and natural resources.

2. Integration of these capabilities with those of other Arab countries.

3. Strengthening the national fabric, rallying our people around the two courses of defensive and interactive action and deepening their commitment to a defined and united goal.

In line with these principles, we have completed three development plans since the June war of 1967, and we are about to embark on the fourth. The plans have achieved a number of objectives deemed essential to the strength of the state. These included: a revitalization of the economy, badly damaged by the June war; building up infrastructure, such as roads, dams, canals, housing complexes, and energy, water and communications networks; utilization of natural resources; expanding education and training; setting up specialized cadres at all levels; and providing the facilities required for food security.

Side by side with the implementation of successive development plans, we moved to strengthen our Armed Forces, which are the basic cornerstone in the defense of our nation and state. We modernized the forces and provided them with arms and equipment, keeping abreast, to the extent possible, of rapid technological development. We established new military divisions and absorbed an increasing number of officers and men, raising the numbers to over a hundred thousand — one of the highest in the world as compared to the size of the population. In short, although shouldering major and clear responsibilities towards our own as well as Arab security, we did more than our human resources would permit. We have always looked to our Arab brothers for assistance in securing our needs for advanced weapons in order to bring our Armed Forces to the highest level of preparedness, our people having provided the regular army with the largest possible number of recruits.

In addition, we are training as many citizens as we can to act as a supportive reserve for the Armed Forces. To this end, we enacted the National Service Law, which has been applied with the utmost precision to all our young men who fall under its provisions, providing us with considerable reserves. We have also begun to set up the People's Army, which will eventually encompass all the kingdom's regions, cities and villages. Our objective is to achieve the highest level of defence capability leading to a fusion in Jordan — the prime target of Israeli expansionism — of army and people into one.

In brief, this is what we have accomplished at the level of the defensive approach, out of the conviction that we should build up our own strength in order to foil attempts at separating the Palestinian people from their land and to protect Jordan and the Arab East.

It is our hope that our brothers who contributed in the past to arming our Armed Forces will renew their commitment to providing us with the weapons we need from international sources. Their contribution would be a sincere embodiment of the integration of Arab efforts and capabilities. It would also be a fitting translation of the slogans raised by all with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict into action.

I might take this opportunity to make a quick comparison between the amount of military assistance received by Israel in the form of grants and loans from the United States during the period 1979-85 and that received by us in the face of clearly perceived danger and well-known pressures. Out of the allocations for arms purchases approved at the Baghdad summit over 7 years ago, Jordan has received a total of $2.5 billion, compared to $12.5 billion received by Israel during the same period, in addition to its own production of military equipment.

As for the second, or interactive, approach, which comprises political action at all levels, we have moved and are still moving along three fronts:

1. The Palestinian front

2. The Arab front

3. The international front

As I have already noted, the Palestinian front represents the cornerstone of Jordan's external, internal, and Arab policies. This is both axiomatic and irrefutable. For in addition to our national, religious, and moral commitment to Jerusalem, to the Holy Places, and to the Palestinian people and their homeland, we have a responsibility towards our own national security. Over the past 19 years, we have pursued action on this front in four distinct phases, each yielding a basis for movement. Thus, we now have four bases which, taken together, constitute the framework of our political movement towards our defined objective: achieving Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories and restoring the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people in return for a permanent, just and comprehensive peace in the region. These bases are:

1. Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, which affirmed the principle of Israeli withdrawal in return for peace. This resolution is now the basic cornerstone, enjoying international unanimity, for achieving a just and peaceful settlement. It emphasizes the principle of balance in any projected settlement. For the settlement to be permanent, it must be generally acceptable; and to be that, it must be equitable. History, particularly modern European history, is replete with examples of inequitable settlements which proved to be no more than time bombs triggering further conflict between states and nations. And the element of equitability, or balance, in Resolution 242 resides in the principle of withdrawal in return for peace. Jordan not only participated in securing this resolution but has supported it since its adoption.

2. Security Council Resolution 338 in 1973, which reaffirmed Resolution 242 and introduced a new principle, namely that of negotiations between the parties concerned aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement, but under appropriate auspices. As we understand it, appropriate auspices means an international peace conference in which all parties involved in the conflict would participate, including the PLO, in addition to the five permanent members of the Security Council. The international community affirmed that appropriate auspices meant an international conference, by setting up the precedent of the Geneva Conference of 1973. We do not believe that that event was a mere coincidence, since the balance of negotiations between the conflicting parties

was in favor of Israel, which is the occupying power with a vast arsenal of advanced weapons at its disposal. This gave it an undue advantage over the Arab parties, and by extension, the ability to persist in its occupation and impose its will. This is particularly relevant, since Israel's declared opinion is at sharp variance with the concept of an equitable settlement. Given this situation, it was imperative that a new framework be sought to rectify the existing inequality and enable the conflicting parties to embark on negotiations on an equitable basis. The framework is no other than an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council would participate, since it was from the Security Council that Resolutions 242 and 338 emanated, enunciating the principles of an equitable settlement, and since the Security Council is the international body responsible for interpreting the various resolutions and guaranteeing their implementation. Thus, Resolution 338 established the second basis: that of negotiating under the auspices of an international conference. Again, Jordan has supported this resolution since its issuance in 1973.

3. The Rabat Summit Resolution fo 1974, which considered the PLO the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This resolution was adopted 27 years after the partition resolution, 10 years after the establishment of the PLO, and 7 years after the occupation by Israel of the remanining Palestinian territories and the adoption of Resolution 242. We accepted this resolution and we remain committed to it. In this respect, it constitutes the third basis of our political movement towards our defined objective. We believe it is especially important to emphasize this point before we proceed to shed some light on the important past and present implications of the resolution related to the course that the Palestinian issue has taken on the one hand, and its present status on the other.

Twenty seven years before the Rabat resolution, at the time of the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Palestine partition resolution, the Arab governments had taken a position stipulating: first, that the Palestinian issue was an Arab issue; and second, that the Arab governments rejected the partition resolution beause it was unjust, inequitable and injurious to the Palestinian Arabs.

It was due to these considerations that the Arab states went to war against Israel when its creation was declared in 1948. Since that time, the Arabs, both those who were then independent and those who have since gained independence, have held fast to this position, namely that they assumed the responsibility with regard to the Palestinian issue on behalf of the Palestinians. The West Bank then entered into a union with Jordan as a result of a declaration by the majority of Palestinians there. In April 1950 the union was supported and ratified by an elected parliament with equal representation from the East and West Banks. The Gaza Strip continued under Egyptian administration until Israel occupied it, as well as the West Bank, in 1967. It is appropriate here, I believe, to call to mind that the unity declaration by the elected Jordanian parliament emphasized that all Arab rights in Palestine be protected and that those rights be defended by all legitimate means to the fullest extent without prejudice to the final settlement of Palestine's just cause. The PLO was established in 1964 for the political purpose of regulating the Palestinian voice under one organization which would speak for it with the purpose of keeping the Palestinian issue alive in the world arena and for the declared purpose of liberating Palestine. The Palestine to be liberated ranged from the whole of Palestine to Palestine as delineated by the partition resolution. The matter was left to the deduction and interpretation of Arab speakers and listeners alike. The significance of setting up the PLO as a way station was that the Arab governmetns at the time wished to reaffirm that the Palestinian issue was an Arab issue while the Palestinian people had a say and a role to play in the struggle for liberation.

This decision represented the first turning point in the Arab position between 1947 and 1964. In other words, the PLO was established not with the purpose of giving the Palestinians an exclusive say, but to include the PLO, in its capacity as a representative of the Palestinian people, in Arab positions and action vis-a-vis the Palestine issue — as a means of keeping it alive. This was confirmed in the years immediately following the establishment of the PLO, when it had no significant weight in matters pertaining to the Palestine issue, since the Arab states continued to hold the reins and make decisions at will. The PLO itself was a tool used by this or that Arab state on the basis of its political positions, whether at the Arab or international levels. When the June war erupted, the PLO was still a form almost devoid of any real content.

But in the wake of the June war, Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation experienced rapid growth, with the result that form and content became one and the PLO came to embody the resistance to occupation and the struggle for the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Thus, the PLO rejected Security Council Resolution 242 because it dealt only with occupied Palestinian territory and not with the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Because of our keen awareness of Israel's expansionist aims, it was natural that we should accord priority to restoring the territories occupied by Israel through war. Likewise, because of our sincere commitment to the resotration of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, we tried, along with Egypt, to perusade the PLO to separate the two objectives of our political action in the international arena. This separation would call for an attempt by the Arab states, whose territories had been occupied through war and were the subject of Resolution 242, to ensure Israeli withdrawal from these territories, while the PLO would continue to fulfill its role of representing the Palestinian people in their struggle for legitimate national rights above and beyond the mere withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

The PLO, however, rejected this line of thinking, as it had rejected Resolution 242, and proceeded to make this dual rejection a basis for its political stand on the Arab and world scenes. It also became the basis of its dealings with Jordan in particular, on the grounds of the following suspicions. First: There was the probability that Jordan might succeed in restoring the West Bank by virtue of its good relations with the West, which had influence over Israel. Second: Jordan had territorial ambitions in the West Bank. Third: As long as the possibility of Jordan's restoration of the West Bank existed, who would guarantee that Jordan would relinquish the territory thus restored to the PLO?

It is to be noted from this position, which is based on suspicion, that, at the time, the PLO was not fully aware of a basic fact emphasized by us and borne out by events, namely that Israel gave the utmost priority to territorial gain. It was also evident that the PLO based its dealings with Jordan on suspicion rather than trust.

In order to dispel PLO suspicions, we proposed in 1972 the establishment of a United Arab Kingdom which would lay the foundation for the future relationship between Jordan and Palestine. That proposal was nipped in the bud, as it was rejected by the PLO, by Israel, and by President Anwar al-Sadat, who severed diplomatic relations with Jordan in support of the PLO position. I should add that under President al-Sadat, Egypt had changed its policy of coordination with Jordan pursued by his predecessor the late President 'Abd al-Nasir since the June war of 1967.

The PLO persisted in rejecting any separation between the role of the Arab states in attempting to restore the occupied territories, in accordance with Security Council resolutions, and its own role of representing the struggle of the Palestinian people to restore their legitimate national rights. And in 1974, at the Rabat summit, the Arab states were unanimous in confirming this rejection, by deciding to regard the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In view of Arab insistance shown at Rabat, we gave our approval despite a detailed presentation on our part of the negative repercussions on joint Arab action that would result from such a decision. Regardless of the manner with which the decision was received in Palestinian and Arab circles at the time, or of the resulting position achieved by the PLO on the international scene, or of our own commitment and adherence to it, a probing look at the decision, in the context of the Palestinian issue, reveals the following:

A. As a result, the question of the restoration of the occupied territories and the national rights of the Palestinian people came to be merged into one whole. In other words, the Rabat decision came to reflect the unanimous view of the Arab nation that the Palestinian issue should be resolved in toto. Mere termination of the effects of aggression was no longer an issue. As a result, the role of the PLO was to represent the Palestinian side in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Eight years later, the Arabs emphasized this by adopting what is now known as the Arab Peace Plan at the Fes summit in 1982.

B. The Arabs who had assumed responsibility for the Palestine issue in 1947 changed their position in 1974 by relegating a major part of this responsibility to the PLO.

C. The merger of the question of rights with the issue of withdrawal from the occupied territories and the involvement of the PLO in the manner I have outlined did not simplify the problem as anticipated. On the contrary, the process led to a further complication, as Israel proceeded to add the PLO question to the other complicated questions surrounding the Palestine issue. It raised questions on the PLO Charter, on PLO actions outside the occupied territories, and on the degree to which the PLO was a true representative of the Palestinian people. The net result was that defense of the PLO gradually replaced the basic issue, which was the liberation of occupied Palestinian territories. Perhaps the most salient evidence of this was that since 1974 no joint communique to which the PLO or an Arab state was a party, no speech or declaration by a Palestinian or Arab official, no resolution on the Palestinian issue by a regional or international organization, in whose work there was Palestinian or Arab participation, were enunciated or adopted without an express assurance that the PLO was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Things got to the point where the PLO, legitimate rights, and territory became one or came to be regarded as synonyms of the Palestine issue. Some Palestinians went as far as regarding the PLO to be the land and the rights and considered themselves at one with the PLO. There was an ensuing confusion on priorities, the land no longer enjoying the highest priority or being regarded as the key to the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

D. The PLO did not in fact achieve the independence of action intended by the Rabat decision. Because its composition was based on a coalition of several organizations, most of which had connections with and loyalties to Arab and non-Arab states, it remained open to outside interference.

It is imperative that we keep these facts in mind as we speak of the Rabat resolution — the third basis of our political action.

4. The fourth basis emanated from the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the Fes summit in 1982. Its importance derives from several considerations. For the first time the Arabs had unanimously chosen the peace option. The PLO, which participated in the summit as a representative of the Palestinian people, agreed to the plan. The plan itself reflected a responsible and serious Arab position aimed at achieving a peaceful and equitable settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The question for all Arabs was no longer one of terminating the effects of aggression but of resolving the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, through the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, with Jerusalem as its capital, within the framework of a peaceful and comprehensive settlement. More important still, the Fest resolutions accepted the principles of Security Council Resolution 242, though without making an explicit reference to it. As is well known, I headed the 7-member committee set up by the summit, which traveled to Paris, Moscow, Beijing, and London in 1982 and 1983. During our discussions with leaders and officials there, I stressed the need for an international peace conference. World capitals welcomed the Arab Peace Plan because it demonstrated Arab sincerity in the search for peace. But the countries concerned perceived it as only a general framework, lacking a plan of action which would help give it the dynanism required for progress toward desired objectives, especially since the plan had allocated a distinctive role to the PLO. As I indicated in my speech to the Casablanca summit on 7 August 1985, there is no problem regarding the participation of Jordan and Syria in the peace process. The problem resides in paving the way for participation in that process by the PLO with the other parties as a representative of the Palestinian people in order to give the Fes resolutions the practicality of a workable plan. These, then, are the bases constituting our position with regard to the concept of a peaceful settlement of the Palestinian issue, namley: Security Council Resolution 242, Security Council Resolution 338, the Rabat summit resolution of 1974, and the Arab Peace Plan, which embodies in one form or another

the other three bases, with some additions pertaining to the national rights of the Palestinian people.

Sisters and brothers, as you know, the Arabs unanimously adopted the Fes plan on 9 September 1982, only days after the departure of the PLO from Beirut in the wake of Israel's savage invasion of Lebanon, during which the Israelis used many of the most advanced lethal weapons at their disposal. The invasion and its aftermath triggered a wave of international sympathy for the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Growing even stronger after the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, it produced an international feeling of urgency on the need to resolve the Palestine issue and put an end to the plight of the Palestinian people. Concomitantly, there surfaced, albeit diffidently, an international, political insinuation in tune with the undeclared objections of the then Israeli Government. The insinuation was that the PLO was weak, hence not indispensable to any peace process pertaining to the Palestinians. We recongized this as the next to the last link in the chain of Israeli plans to control the Palestinian will and impose a settlement along the lines of declared Likud policies. We launched an immediate drive at Arab and international levels to warn against this, while reaffirming our support for the PLO. On 3 September 1982, we dispatched the chief of our Royal Court and our foreign minister to meet Mr Yasir 'Arafat, who had left Beirut for Athens, to reaffirm our support for the PLO as well as our concern for its well-being so that it could continue to fulfill its role toward its people and homeland.

In October 1982, we followed this by a political undertaking which engaged us in extensive talks with the PLO leadership aimed at reaching an incipient formula which could, with Arab support, become an Arab proposal incorporating the Reagan peace initiative and other international initiatives in accordance with the principles and purpose of the Arab Peace Plan adopted at the Fes summit on 9 September 1982. Those talks concentrated in particular on reaching a Jordanian-Palestinian formula, defining the future relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples. I reached a final agreement with Mr 'Arafat on the text defining our joint future political moves within an Arab framework. However, the PLO Executive Committee, which held its meeting in Kuwait in early April 1983, did not endorse that text, thus putting an end to our first joint attempt to initiate a comprehensive Arab political drive based on Arab consensus for a just and lasting peace.

On 10 May 1983, the Jordanian Governemnt issued an official communique concerning the subject, in which it said:

In view of the results of the efforts we made with the PLO, and in compliance with the 1974 Rabat summit resolution, and through the strict observance of the independence of the Palestinian decision, we respect the decision of the PLO, being the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Accordingly, we leave it to the PLO and the Palestinian people to choose the ways and means for salvaging themselves and their land, and for the realization of their declared aims in the manner they see fit.

We in Jordan, having refused from the beginning to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, will neither act separately nor in lieu of anybody in Middle East peace negotiations. Jordan will work as a member of the Arab League, in compliance with its resolutions, to support the PLO within our capabilities, and in compliance with the requirements of our national security for the sake of Palestine and the Arab East.

Further contacts between Jordan and the PLO ceased except within the framework of the joint committee for the steadfastness of the occupied territories. The PLO became consumed by its internal differences, which resulted in the departure of the Palestinian leadership led by 'Arafat from Tripoli, Lebanon, on 20 January 1983. This was followed by attempts at reconciliation between the parties of the Palestinian coalition within the PLO, and beween the PLO and other Arab states. It was then that the problem of convening the 17th PNC appeared, particularly the question of where to hold that meeting.

In early September 1984, a member of the Palestinian leadership met with me and conveyed to me that the PLO hoped to convene the PNC in Amman. I welcomed their request.

On 27 Septemebr 1984, I received Mr 'Arafat, accompanied by other members of the PLO leadership, at Al-Nadwah Palace in Amman. During our meeting, Mr 'Arafat expressed the wish of the Palestinian leadership to convene the PNC in Amman. We officially notified him that Jordan welcomed such a convening.

On 22 November 1984, I opened the 17th session of the PNC by delivering a speech which contained our assessment of prevailing Palestinian conditions and our conclusion that we needed to move politically outside the status quo of no peace-no war, which only helped to advance expansionist Zionist designs and posed serious dangers to the Palestinian issue, the Palestinian people, and Palestinian land, as well as a consequent threat to Jordan's national security. We proposed to the PNC members our view of future cooperation, should the PLO decide to work with Jordan to reach a joint Jordanian-Palestinian formula, and I said the following:

Let us be frank about your sacred cause. It holds the same interest for us as it does for you and its repercussions affect us as they affect you. The international position at large is one that perceives the possibility of restoring the occupied territories through a Jordanian-Palestinian formula. This requires commitments from both parties which the world deems necessary for the achievement of a just, balanced, and peaceful settlement. If you find this option convincing — recommended further by our ties as two families linked together by a united destiny and common goals — we are prepared to go with you along this path and present the world with a joint initiative for which we marshal support. If, on the other hand, you believe that the PLO is capable of going it alone, then we say to you: Godspeed, you have our support. In the final analysis, the decision is yours. Whatever it is, we will respect it because it emanates from your esteemed council, which is the representative of the Palestinian people.

I also pointed out in that speech the general guidelines which would constitute the framework for our proposed initiative. These were:

1. Security Council Resolution 242, of which I said:

The existing facts in the Palestinian, Arab, and international arenas require us to adhere to Security Council Resolution 242 as a basis for a just and peaceful settlement. The principle of territory for peace is the landmark which should guide us in any initiative we present to the world. This principle is not a precondition but a framework within which negotiations will be carried out. As such, it is non-negotiable. Negotiations we deem necessary within the framework of an international peace conference should revolve around the means, methods, and commitments which would guarantee the achievement of the principle of territory for peace.

2. The international conference, of which I said:

The international conference would be held under the auspices of the United Nations and would be attended by the permanent members of the Security Council and by all the parties involved in the conflict. The PLO would attend on an equal footing with the other parties, since it is the party empowered to address the most important and momentous aspect of the Middle East crisis, namely, the Palestinian dimension.

3. A formula defining the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship, of which I said:

Organizing the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship is a basic responsibility of the Jordanian and Palestinian people. No other party has the right to interfere or decide for them.

Brothers and sisters, the PNC ended its meetings in Amman, having provided an opportunity for our brothers in the occupied territories to view its deliberations on issues which bore directly on their existence and future. Their hopes were revived, and delegations representing them began to arrive in Amman, urging us and the Palestinian leadership to reach a common formula which could rally Arab and international support behind it. We left the Palestinian leadership to choose the path it wished to follow.

In January 1985, we received the reply that the PLO Executive Committee had chosen to work with us on our proposal for joint political action. We started our consultations with 'Arafat's envoys on the third general outline —the Jordanian-Palestinian formula — since this formula constituted the base from which we were to move on the Arab and international arenas to convene an international peace conference.

In February 1985, 'Arafat, accompanied by other members of the Palestinian leadership, arrived in Amman. An expanded meeting was held in Al-Nadwah Palace which was concluded by the signing of the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, known as the 11 February Accord. This accord incorporated the following principles:

1. Territory in return for peace as established in UN and Security Council resolutions.

2. The right of self-determination for the Palestinian people: Palestinians will exercise their inalienable right of self- determination when it becomes possible to do so within the context of the formation of the proposed confederated Arab states of Jordan and Palestine.

3. Resolution of the problem of Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN resolutions.

4. Resolution of all aspects of the Palestine question.

5. On this basis, peace negotiations will be conducted under the auspices of an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties involved in the conflict will participate, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, within a joint delegation —a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Our assessment, which was also shared by the PLO, was that the accord constituted the beginning of collective Arab action to be followed by rallying the international community, which had become a mere spectator since the singing of the Camp David accords and which had only paid polite lipservice since the initiation of the Arab Fes Peace Plan.

We envisaged the Jordanian-Palestinian accord as one of the links in the chain of collective Arab efforts, providing a mechanism for the Arab Peace Plan while paving the path for facilitating the PLO to engage itself in the international effort aimed at establishing a just, permanent, and comprehensive peace.

As soon as the accord was announced, the wide international interest in the cause of peace in the Middle East reemerged after a period of democracy. More light was shed on the Arab peace principles which became a central theme of discussion. The accord became the focal point of discussion both regionally and internationally. In other words, life was again breathed into the peace efforts after they were nearly buried in the grave of no peace-no war. The Palestinian people's hopes of salvation, particularly those under occupation, were revived.

The accord became a mover for the peace process because of the principles it contained. These were:

1. The accord's affirmation of a peaceful resolution to the conflict in accordance with the UN Charter.

2. The accord's conformity with the principles of the Arab Peace Plan, derived from United Nations resolutions concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict in general and the Palestinian problem in particular.

3. The agreement between Jordan and the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to form a confederation between Jordan and Palestine.

This last item, while it reflects the objective considerations which require close institutional links between Jordan and a free Palestine to the mutual benefit of their peoples and the Arab nation at large, provides the key, or mechanism, to the peace process for two main reasons:

First, it justifies PLO participation in the proposed international conference within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Since confederation is the ultimate objective, why not have the two parties concerned assume one of the confederation's functions before it is established as a reality on the ground, particularly since this function allows for the participation of the PLO in the international conference which in the past decade has posed one of the most difficult obstacles in convening an international peace conference?

Second, it lays the foundations for a responsible role for the PLO in realizing and safeguarding a just settlement through its links with Jordan, the sovereign state which enjoys credible international standing due to its serious and sincere efforts to achieve peace.

Dear brethren, after signing the 11 February accord and the agreement of the PLO Executive Committee, which was empowered by the PNC to arrive at a joint formula with Jordan, we embarked with the Palestinian leadership upon drawing up a plan for our proposed action. Two objedtives were defined for this purpose:

1. To rally international support for the convening of an international peace conference, to be attended by the five permanent members of the Security Council and all parties involved in the conflict. This conference would be convened under the auspices of the United Nations and called for by the UN secretary general.

2. To ensure that an invitation will be extended to the PLO, representing the Palestinian people, to attend the conference within a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Before embarking on our joint action, we needed to ascertain the position of the state concerned regarding the abovementioned objectives. Our inquiries indicated the need for us to move on four fronts:

1. Within the Arab world, so that Arab positions could be shifted from making public statements to marshalling, coordinating, and organizing the elements of Arab potential to serve this cause through continuous and conscientious efforts. Our dialogue with our Arab brothers was conducted through bilateral contacts as well as collectively when I and 'Arafat jointly explained the dimensions, motives, foundations, and objectives of the 11 February accord at the Casablanca Arab summit conference in August 1985.

2. On the international front, in order to stimulate the interest of peace in the Middle East by reiterating the seriousness of our undertaking and the credibility of its expected results. Except for the two superpowers which had their own calculations, our joint effort on the international arena was well received and encouraged, whether by the UN secretary general, regional organizations like the EEC or the other three permanent members of the Security Council. Our dialogue with many states was achieved through bilateral contacts, either separately by the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the PLO, or through joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegations which visited Beijing, Paris, the Vatican, and Rome when Italy was the president of the European community. We had also planned for a joint delegation to visit London in October 1985.

3. The Soviet Union, in an attempt to change its position regarding the international conference, since it held the position that only the two superpowers should participate in the conference and not all the five permanent members of the Security Council. There was also the issue of Palestinian representation at the conference in accordance with the Jordanian-Palestinian accord to which the Soviet Union objected. Several contacts were made with Soviet officials aimed at explaining how the Jordanian-Palestinian accord be employed to revitalize the peace process and requesting the Soviet Union to receive a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation in Moscow. However, the Soviet Union did not change its position despite our repeated attempts. On 9 November 1985, in a meeting held at Al-Nadwah Palace, we reiterated our firm position to hold an international conference.

4. The United States, which is close to the Israeli position. A special effort was therefore needed with the U.S. side since, without the participation of Israel, the party in occupation of Arab territories, there could be no international conference. And since there were no direct channels of communications between the United States and the PLO, Jordan undertook the responsibility of dialogue with the United States, but in consultation with the Palestinian leadership. When we first briefed U.S. officials on the accord and explained it to them, it became evident that we were facing a problem with the Americans on two points: the principle of convening an international conference and the PLO's participation in this conference as a representative of the Palestinian people. It also became evident that the U.S. position on these two objectives to a large degree reflected the Israeli position. It was clear that our dialogue with the United States would require a major and concerted effort. In the face of these realities and facts, we began our difficult endeavor, which lasted 1 year and to which I referred earlier in my speech as the second phase of our coordination with the PLO leadership. This was the last chapter of our diplomatic effort to reach a comprehensive, just, and permanent peace.

Brothers and sisters, in this last part of my speech I shall describe to you the important features of every phase of our efforts during this last year. In order to clarify the picture for you, a reference to three facts must first be made:

1. Every round of talks between us and the U.S. Administration was always preceded by consultation with the Palestinian leadership followed by further briefing and reassessment with that leadership.

2. Our discussions with the U.S. Administration in every round of talks dealt with two separate issues: the issue of the international peace conference and the issue of Palestinian representation through the PLO.

3. When we started these discussions with the U.S. Administration in February 1985, there was already another topic under discussion relating to Jordan's request to purchase U.S. arms. This issue was started at the end of the Carter Presidency, and continued through the Reagan Presidency. Jor-

dan adopted a very definite policy regarding this when we started our dialogue to revive the peace process. This position stipulated that there should be no linkage between the U.S. arms deal to Jordan — a bilateral issue — and the peace effort, which has an international dimension.

Throughout all our meetings with U.S. officials, we focused on two issues, as I mentioned earlier. However, during the period between the signing of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord and September 1985, we concentrated our attention on the issue of Palestinian representation and the means to ensure the participation of the PLO in an international conference. I shall now review chronologically the stages pertaining to this issue.

We had agreed with the PLO leadership from the outset on the need to emphasize the concept of Jordanian-Palestinian partnership while dealing with the Palestinian dimension on the background of the larger Arab-Israeli conflict. On this basis, joint delegations visited world capitals, as I mentioned earlier. They also planned to visit Moscow and Washington. Moscow declined to receive the joint delegation in keeping with the Soviet Union's position vis-a-vis the 11 February accord. Washington, however, while not refusing the accord, did not endorse all its principles. Therefore, the need to concentrate on the United States became apparent to us, just as the need to concentrate on the Soviet Union became apparent.

We agreed with the Palestinian leadership on the following procedures for joint action:

1. We asked the U.S. Administration to start a dialogue with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation composed of Jordanian Government officials and members chosen by the PLO.

2. After this dialogue, the PLO would declare its acceptance of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

3. If this took place, the United States would no longer be bound by its previous position not to conduct any talks with the PLO before the later's acceptance of the two pertinent Security Council resolutions. Thus, the United States would recognize the PLO and a meeting between U.S. officials and members of the PLO could be held in Washington to discuss the issue of a peaceful settlement and relations between them would be normalized.

4. As a result of the normalization of U.S.-Palestinian relations a major political obstacle blocking the Arab Peace Plan, which gave an important role to the PLO, would have been removed. Arab efforts could then be channeled to pursue the efforts with the United States and other countries to convene an international peace conference.

After agreeing on this procedure with the Palestinian leadership, we accordingly contacted the officials in the U.S. Administration at the end of March 1985 and presented them with the idea of meeting a joint delegation in preparation for the next two steps which would follow as a result of the meeting.

In early April 1985, we received the U.S. reply which,in principle, accepted this proposal provided that the Palestinian members of the joint delegation were not leading members of the PLO or any fedayeen organization.

We consulted with the Palestinian leadership, which provided us with the names of three candidates. The Americans refused them because they did not meet their criteria and asked that we provide them with the names of others who did.

In May 1985, we met with the U.S. secretary of state in Qaba, who reiterated the administration's position regarding the subject of the names. However, he did not exclude those who were members of the PNC.

The U.S. side expressed its government's doubts about the PLO's intentions and its government's fears that if the suggested meeting were to take place between a U.S. official and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation —a meeting after that would not be followed by PLO's acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 — the PLO would obtain a political weapon as a result of its member's meeting with an American official. The U.S. Government would then be left to face criticism and political troubles resulting from this in the U.S. arena. Thus, the serious political efforts would end at that point.

Our prime minister conveyed this recent U.S. stand to Yasir 'Arafat in a meeting held at the Prime Ministry on 18 May 1985. At that time, we were preparing for a visit to Washington. In order to remove the U.S. fears, the prime minister agreed with Yasir 'Arafat on the text of a press statement which we would make at the end of our talks with the U.S. President.

The statement which I made at the White House garden on 29 May 1985 says: I also asserted to President Reagan that, on the basis of the Jordanian agreement with the PLO signed on 11 February, as a result of the talks which I recently held with the PLO, and in view of our sincere desire to achieve peace, we are determined to negotiate to achieve a peaceful settlement within the framework of an international conference on the basis of the related UN resolutions, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The U.S. officials affirmed, during my talks in Washington, their position regarding Palestinian participation in the joint delegation. They limited the number to four, two from the occupied territories and two from the outside. They requested that we provide them with these names in advance and as soon as possible so that the U.S. Administration could make its decision at the appropriate time.

Upon our return to Amman in June 1985, we conveyed to the Palestinian leadership our discussions in Washington. They in turn accepted this proposal and promised to provide us with the names of the candidates as soon as possible. We waited until 11 July 1985, when some names were provided to us. We were then told that a meeting of the PLO Executive Committee and the Fatah Central Committee had discussed this subject and had agreed upon the names of the candidates.

On 12 July 1985, we relayed a list of seven names to the U.S. Administration and waited for the administration to inform us of its approval of four of the names on that list. We agreed that no public announcement should be made on this issue. But a few days later, we were surprised when the world press began to discuss those names. Suddenly the issue turned into a U.S. political issue. The press began to discuss it and the Zionist lobby activated influential political institutions in opposition to it, culminating in pressure on the U.S. Administration to justify, defend, and finally retract its position. As a result, we received American approval of only two names from the list, instead of four: one from the West Bank and the other from the Gaza Strip. After inquiries we were told by U.S. officials that the administration was still not sure that the PLO would fulfill the second phase of the agreed scenario, namely, to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

On 15 August 1985, a meeting was held at our prime minister's residence in Amman attended by the prime minister, the chief of the Royal Hashemite Court, the minister of the court and the foreign minister from the Jordanian side, and Yasir 'Arafat, accompanied by Khalil al-Wazir, Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya and Muhammad Milhim from the Palestinian side. During that meeting, the prime minister again asked 'Arafat whether he was clear on the method of proceeding, particularly with regard to the second phase — PLO readiness to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. 'Arafat reaffirmed his acceptance of all steps and arrangements agreed upon between us, including the PLO's readiness to accept the abovementioned resolutions.

In light of 'Arafat's reply, we informed the U.S. Administration that the suspicions it had on this subject were not justified and that we were awaiting their positive reply concerning the date of the meeting between U.S. officials and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

On 7 September 1985, we received the U.S. reply, which said that it was not possible to hold the meeting, thus terminating this scenario before the first step, originally expected in June, was taken. This came at the time we were preparing for a visit to New York to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, and to Washington to discuss bilateral issues and the peace process with the U.S. Administration.

Assessment of the situation, prior to the visit, led us to believe that we could pursue our dialogue with the United States by concentrating this time on the second phase of the process, the international conference, since not much progress had been achieved on the issue of Palestinian representation. Our reading of the U.S. position led us to believe that further discussions could take place on that other issue, which was last discussed in May 1985. I mentioned earlier that from the beginning our dialogue with the Americans had dealt with two issues seperately: Palestinian representation and the international conference, with emphasis on the subject of Palestinian representation.

I will now turn to our efforts on the second issue, the convening of an international conference.

In May 1985, in our discussions with the U.S. Administration in Washington, we raised the issue of convening such a conference because we considered it to be the venue for all parties concerned to meet, including the PLO. The U.S. position was a flat rejection of an international conference. Instead, the United States proposed that, after the PLO was brought into the peace talks, a meeting should be set up between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, under the auspices of the United States, to be held in an U.S. city. Upon learning this, we decided to cut our visit short and reaffirmed to them our definite and unequivocal rejection of seeking a unilateral approach similar to that of Camp David in the negotiations.

The U.S. Administration then changed its position and proposed that the talks could be held at the United Nations in Geneva. Once again, we informed the U.S. Administration that we rejected this proposal, like the one before it, as we did not see that the problem was one of where the talks should be held. We reiterated that Jordan's unwavering position was that it sought to reach a comprehensive settlement through the convening of an international conference attended by all the parties to the conflict, including the permanent members of the Security Council. As a result, the U.S. Administration reconsidered its proposal and promised to seriously ponder the issue of convening an international conference. We accepted this and continued our discussions concerning the issue of Palestinian representation.

During talks in Washington in October 1985, we again raised the issue of an international conference after having proposed it to the administration prior to our departure for the United States. Meetings were held between Jordanian and U.S. officials in Washington. The United States submitted a proposal concerning the international conference, which, after careful examination, seemed to suggest a conference in name only. We on the other hand insisted that the conference should have clear powers.

Among the various U.S. suggestions was the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the conference only after it restored diplomatic relations with Israel, because this was an Israeli condition. We argued for the rejection of this approach for the following reasons:

1. An international conference without the participation of the Soviet Union would be a flawed conference.

2. If the reason to exclude the Soviet Union from the conference was that it had no diplomatic relations with Israel, which is a party to the conflict, the United States on its part does not recognize the PLO, which is equally a party to the conflict. Thus, in this regard, the Soviet Union and the United States were in the same position.

3. It would be futile to plan seriously to convene an international peace conference if any party had the right to place conditions on who could attend. This applies to the five permanent members of the Security Council as well as the parties involved in the conflict. Therefore, it was imperative that an invitation be extended to Syria, the PLO, and the Soviet Union to attend the conference if the peace process was to continue and the efforts for a just and comprehensive peace were to produce fruitful results.

After extensive discussions lasting 3 days, the United States accepted the following points which we proposed:

1. The UN secretary general would issue invitations to an international conference under UN auspices.

2. Invitations to attend the conference would be issued to the permanent members of the Security Council, including the Soviet Union, in addition to the parties involved in the conflict.

3. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 would form the basis for the international conference.

4. The Americans held to their position of requiring acceptance by the PLO of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, since these formed the basis for the convening of the international conference. We agreed to this understanding on the basis that 'Arafat had himself agreed to this last August.

We continued our intensive discussions with the U.S. Administration concerning the powers of the conference and we insisted that it should not be a conference in name only, but rather that it should be one that was effective and had a clear mandate. Despite prolonged discussions, we did not reach a final understanding with the U.S. Administration regarding this issue. We agreed to continue our discussions on this central point, and considered that what we had agreed upon constituted a basis from which to proceed. While we were still in Washington, the cycle of terrorism and counterterrorism began with the Larnaca incident, followed by the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis. This had a negative effect on the peace process and our efforts were once again jeopardized by fears and suspicions.

Upon our return to Amman in October 1985 we informed the Palestinian leadership of what we had accomplished during our talks in Washington. We informed them that the PLO would be required to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 in order to be invited to the international conference, to accept the principle of participating in negotiations with the Government of Israel as part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation within the context of the international conference, which would be convened to establish a comprehensive settlement, and to renounce terrorism. We also informed the Palestinian leadership that our discussions with the U.S. Administration regarding the question of the mandate of the conference were still inconclusive, and that further discussions would follow. We made it clear to the Palestinian leadership that a written statement of acceptance was needed from them, while leaving them to choose the appropriate time to announce that approval. The written acceptance was needed so that we could encourage the U.S. Administration to proceed earnestly to convene an international conference and to reassure them that the PLO was anxious to participate in the peace process. We had already made clear to the U.S. Administration that Jordan would not attend the conference unless invitations were extended to the PLO, sister Syria, and all other parties involved in the conflict, because we are after a comprehensive peace.

We also promised the Palestinian leadership that their acceptance would be kept confidential and shown only to the concerned U.S. officials until they themselves decided to announce it.

On 7 November 1985, after talks with President Husni Mubarak, Yasir 'Arafat issued a statement in Cairo denouncing terrorism in all its forms, irrespective of its source. The PLO Executive Committee then held a meeting in Baghdad, and as we were not officially notified of its decisions, we awaited 'Arafat's visit to Amman to hear from him, once again, the final position of the PLO on Security Council Resolution 242.

Meanwhile, I made a private visit to London on 7 January 1986 for medical reasons. While I was there, the assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs [Richard Murphy] arrived in London with a U.S. delegation. He requested to see me to continue our discussions regarding the issue of the international conference. We held two rounds of talks in London, the first attended by the prime minister and the chief of the Royal Court on 18 January, and the second, on 20 January, attended by the chief of the Royal Court. Throughout both meetings the discussions focused on defining the mandate of the international conference and the participation of the PLO, as both issues had become interwoven as a result of progress achieved in the peace process. The American position had developed to the extent of agreeing to the right of the concerned parties to submit any disagreements between them to the conference. However, we could not reach full agreement regarding the role of the conference in settling disputes among the negotiating parties.

Concerning the issue of PLO participation in the conference, the American delegation reiterated its previous position requiring that the PLO should first accept Security Council Resolution 242 in order for the United States to start a dialogue with it. The United States did not commit itself to accepting the inviting of the PLO to the conference. Our reply was that we wanted the United States to agree to have the PLO invited to participate in the conference if it accepted Security Council Resolution 242. This point became the subject of extensive discussions, during which I asked for a clear American position to relay to the PLO. The American delegation agreed to take this up at the highest level on its return to Washington.

On 21 January 1986, I returned to Amman having achieved these results on the issues of an international conference and PLO participation. On 25 January 1986, our efforts bore fruit when I received a final reply from the U.S. Administration concerning PLO participation in the international conference. Their reply came in a written commitment which said:

When it is clearly on the public record that the PLO has accepted Resolutions 242 and 338, is prepared to negotiate peace with Israel, and has renounced terrorism, the United States accepts the fact that an invitation will be issued to the PLO to attend an international conference.

The United States would then start contacts with the Soviet Union with the purpose of having them participate, together with the other permanent members of the Security Council, in the international conference, which would be convened by the secretary general of the United Nations.

On that same day, 'Arafat arrived in Amman with a Palestinian leadership delegation. We held 4 extensive meetings in 4 days. I presided over three of these meetings. The discussion concentrated on the subject of American assurances and the PLO's position regarding those assurances. We assumed that the PLO would accept these since:

1. The assurances met the PLO's requirements.

2. They reflected a significant change in the U.S. position in favor of the PLO. The U.S. position regarding the PLO when we first started our intensive year-long dialogue had been that the United States would only enter into talks with the PLO after the latter's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242. Now, by comparison, the present U.S. position was that it was willing to go one step beyond talking to the PLO by agreeing to have the PLO invited to the international conference.

But our brothers in the Palestinian leadership surprised us by refusing to accept Security Council Resolution 242 within this context, while acknowledging what they described as our "extraordinary effort," which had caused a significant change in the U.S. position, and which would not have been possible had it not been for the respect, credibility and trust which our country, Jordan, enjoyed in this world.

In spite of this, we continued our discussions with the PLO leadership in the hope of convincing them that their acceptance would cement a very important link in peace efforts leading to an international conference, which in the unanimous view of the Arabs and all peace-loving peoples constitutes the major venue for the establishment of a comprehensive, permanent, and just peace. It is towards the objective of convening such a conference that we have worked tirelessly for the past 9 years, but to no avail. Now that the opportunity presented itself, we hoped that it would not be wasted like other missed opportunities if we were to remain faithful to our goals of saving our people and liberating our land and Holy Places.

The answer of the brothers in the Palestinian leadership was that they wanted an amendment to the proposed text in return for acceptance of Resolution 242. The amendment would require the addition of a statement indicating the agreement of the United States to the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination within the context of a confederation between Jordan and Palestine, as stated in the February 11 accord. We reminded the Palestinian leadership that the subject of self-determination within the context of a confederation was a matter for Jordanians and Palestinians and that no other party had anything to do with it. Nothing was to be gained from the support of this or that state as long as we ourselves were committed to this text. The important thing was to achieve withdrawal first, then to proceed with what we had agreed upon. We reminded them that this had always been our position and that it had been clear all along, starting from my opening address in Amman at the 17th PNC session, in which I referred to the proposed Jordanian-Palestinian relationship, and continuing through all our discussions to date.

We also said to them that involving the United States, or others, in this matter meant that we were voluntarily opening the door to others to interfere in our common concerns and those of a people who had a sovereign right to their land and their own decisionmaking — unless they were dealing with us on a basis of lack of confidence. But despite this, our brothers in the Palestinian leadership insisted on their position. And despite the fact that the most recent American position had satisfied PLO demands, we agreed to resume contacts with officals in Washington through the American Embassy in Amman on the evening of 27 January 1986.

The American response was as follows:

1. The February 11 accord is a Jordanian-Palestinian accord which does not involve the United States.

2. The United States supports the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people as stated in the Reagan peace initiative.

3. The PLO, like any other party, has the right to propose anything it wishes, including the right of self-determination, at the international conference.

4. For all these reasons, the United States adheres to its position.

We relayed the American response to Yasir 'Arafat during an enlarged meeting at Al-Nawdah Palace on 28 January 1986, but he insisted that we try again. We indicated to him that we had gone as far as we could with the U.S. Administration at that stage, but he insisted. Thus, we got in touch once again and the reply was still that the United States adhered to its position.

On the morning of 29 January 1986, an enlarged meeting was held at the Prime Ministry and I headed the Jordanian side. I informed Yasir 'Arafat and his party of the American position as reaffirmed to us once again. The meeting ended with a statement by Yasir 'Arafat saying that he needed to consult the Palestinian leadership. We asked him to give us the final answer on the PLO position with regard to Resolution 242 while he was still in Amman, although we had ascertained, only then, that the PLO's decision to reject Resolution 242 had been made during the meeting of the PLO leadership in Baghdad on 24 Novemebr 1985. We had not, however, officially been notified of that.

On the same evening, 29 January 1986, we received a suggestion from the U.S. Administration to the effect that the United States felt that since the PLO could not presently decide to accept Resolution 242, the PLO could wait until a time it considered appropriate. The United States felt that the peace process could still proceed with Palestinian participation from the occupied territories. The opportunity would remain available for the PLO to take part in the international conference the moment it accepted Resolution 242.

In our reply to the United States, we rejected this suggestion, indicating that this time the suggestion concerned not only the PLO but Jordan as well, since our unwavering position was: no separate settlement.

President Reagan wrote to me on 31 January 1986 explaining his inability to proceed in his efforts with Congress for the sale of sophisticated U.S. arms to Jordan. We had sought to acquire the arms since 1979 in the face of fierce Zionist opposition. I had received assurances from the President that our requirements would be met.

On the evening of the same day, the minister of the court informed Yasir 'Arafat of the latest American suggestion to proceed with the peace process without the PLO until it met the set conditions. He also informed him of our categorical refusal of this suggestion and apprised him of President Reagan's letter explaining his inability to meet Jordan's requirements.

On 5 February 1986, the American side presented a new text containing the approval by the United States to convene an international conference on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, including the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We met with Yasir 'Arafat on the same evening at Al-Nadwah Palace and we handed him the new American text. He promised to study it and at the same time gave us three differently worded texts which were the same in substance, reaffirming the same PLO position which we had heard from the start of this round of meetings.

On 6 February, Yasir 'Arafat had a meeting with our prime minister at his residence. The meeting was attended by the chief of the Royal Court and by 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya and Hani al-Hasan from the Palestinian side. 'Arafat informed the prime minister that despite the positive development of the American position, recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people did not encompass the right to self-determination to which, the PLO insisted, the United States ought to give its prior approval.

On 7 February, Yasir 'Arafat left Amman still insisting on his position and on the reasons why the PLO was unable to accept Resolution 242. Hinging on this agreement, of course, was an immediate opening of an U.S.-Palestinian dialogue on the basis of which we would have continued our efforts to convene an international peace conference to which the PLO would be invited to participate as a representative of the Palestinian people.

Thus, another chapter came to an end in the search for peace. Another extremely important and significant round of Jordanian- Palestinian action was terminated — after a full year of serious and persistant efforts to transform the PLO role, referred to in the Arab Peace Plan, into a significant reality that would go beyond a mere statement of positions. It would have led to the presence and participation by the PLO in an international conference at the invitation of the UN secretary general, to represent its people and speak on their behalf with their adversary under the eyes of the world, side by side with the other parties concerned and the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Yes, brothers and sisters: We have gone through a grueling year of intensive efforts and have faced a host of obstacles, in many instances exceeding the limits of our endurance. But we succeeded in achieving what had been felt to be impossible. We opened up avenues that had been considered closed to us and to our Arab and Palestinian brothers. We were able to carry the Fes resolution to a point just preceding the international peace conference, for which it was called. Buoyed on the one hand by progress achieved in providing a real opportunity for peace and, pained on the other by impediments when we were so close to the finishing line, we have felt it imperative to give a full public account of the situation and once again turn the matter over to the Palestinian fore in the occupied territories and the diaspora as well as Arab capitals and organizations.

Fellow citizens, Palestinian brothers, Arab brothers, this is the way in which we view the present status of the Palestinian issue within and outside the occupied territories. It is our analysis of developments in the context of the state of no war-no peace and their effect on the future of the Palestinian people, who are threatened with separation from their land. It is also an account of our joint action with the PLO leadership over a year of continuous effort aimed at moving the peace process, before it is too late, out of the debilitating sphere of inaction into the revitalizing realm of positive action. It was undoubtedly a precious opportunity to achieve our objectives and thwart enemy plans which are clear for all to see.

But if this phase of political action with the PLO has ended differently from what we had hoped for, the principles and tenets of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord will continue to embody the foundations governing relations between the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples with regard to equality of rights and obligations in facing our joint destiny.

Brothers, it has been my destiny to experience the various phases of the Palestine tragedy, as well as the results of the implementation of Zionist plans drawn up by forces which know what they want and carry out what they have planned, stage by stage. I have not seen or observed any emergence of the long-awaited Arab plan which would be capable of defending the most just cause of a brotherly and dear people who surely deserve better than their continued plight currently holds for them.

It has also been my destiny to carry out my responsibilities in an Arab country, contiguous to the land of Palestine, which contains the remains of my ancestor Hashim in Gaza and which was blessed by the sojourn of my ancester Prophet Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah — May God's prayers and blessings be upon him — whom the Almighty selected to inspire mankind and whom He sent to the First Qibla and the Third Holy Place in Jerusalem, where my great grandfather is buried — a great grandfather who sacrificed all in defense of the rights of the Palestinian people on their national soil and asked to be buried within the confines of the Holy Mosque — and also my grandfather, who moved to the defense of Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1948 in the face of the most difficult circumstances which could confront a leader at the time. With me at his side, he fell, a martyr in the mosque which he had rescued.

As I see what goes on in Jerusalem, Gaza, Nabulus, Hebron, and other cities, villages, and camps on the West Bank and at the same time observe what goes on outside, my heart turns heavy. I have no alternative but to apprise you of the facts. No one can expect anything but rejection on my part of the prevailing state of fumbling which I see all around us. No one can expect anything but frank disclosure from me. I will not be a party to concealment at a most critical juncture in your lives. I am one of you, I belong to you all; I experience deeply every detail of our cause, the cause of all Arabs.

Next to my faith in God Almighty, I have faith in you and in your ability to direct the course to its proper path.

Brothers and sisters, after two long attempts I and the Government of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan hereby announce that we are unable to continue to coordinate politically with the PLO leadership until such time as their world becomes their bond, characterized by commitment, credibility and constancy. On our part, we know of no other way of fostering confidence than by truthfulness or of strengthening it than by clarity. For confidence is paramount in constructive cooperation.

As for you, brothers and sisters, who stand tall under occupation, who remain steadfast in your ancestral homeland, who are the keepers of Al-Aqsa, the site of the Prophet's ascension, who are the defenders of Jerusalem and the Holy Places, living symbols of the long history of the land of prophets and holy men, and preservers of an identity which — God willing — will never be blurred or erased, to you, our Palestinian brethren in the occupied territories, I send my greetings, love, and appreciation. To you I renew my pledge that here in Jordan we will remain as we have been: brothers committed to your cause and supporters in all you have to face. We will continue to support you, within our capabilities, with every available means. We look forward to the day when you will be a free people on your own soil, secure and confident of your present and future, safe in your homes, and proud of the fruits of your struggle and steadfastness.

God be my witness, I have conveyed the message.

God be my witness, I have conveyed the message.

God be my witness, I have conveyed the message.

From the Almighty we draw support. Peace be with you and God's mercy and blessings.

LE MONDE Interviews President Al-Jumayyil

PM141641 Paris LE MONDE in French 14 Feb 86 pp 1,6

[Interview with Lebanese President 'Amin al-Jumayyil by Francoise Chipaux — date and place not given]

[Text] [Chipaux] What are the main reasons for your refusal to accept the Damascus agreement as it stands?

[Al-Jumayyil] My position on the Damascus agreement cannot be interpreted as a rejection. The agreement is certainly a serious step in the direction of stabilization. It is a valid starting point for achieving agreement among the Lebanese. It was negotiated among the three warring paramilitary forces, and without an agreement between the warring factions it is difficult to achieve peace. I gave my backing to these negotiations from the start, in that it had been agreed that they should lead to a national congress whose results would be ratified by the democratic institutions, in other words the executive and legislative authorities. It was a sound procedure. The exercise of power is constitutional in Lebanon. Any change in this nature does not depend on the president of the Republic alone. It must be debated in the Cabinet and in parliament. This is a fundamental point.

In addition, parties other than the signatories, both armed and civilian, exist in the country. My duty as president is to safeguard the right of all these factions, especially when it comes to determining the country's future. A distinction must be drawn between security and peace. We in Lebanon tend to confuse these two notions. However, the real peace we are seeking can only be based on a freely expressed national awareness. In the absence of that you have a security agreement among militias that lay down their arms for a time only to take them up again a little later, as we have unfortunately seen in the past.

It is absolutely vital to end the state of war in the near future. It is imperative.

I admit that it is necessary to make radical changes in the old order to adapt our political system to the current situation. I said that in my investiture speech. Nothing is sacred in this connection. Our Constitution dates from 1926, and we need the broadest consensus to draw up a new one.

Of course, we must also take account of past discrepancies in some crises with Israel, integrate Lebanon more fully into its Arab context, and, more simply, review our relations with Syria. It is our immediate neighbor. We had traditional historical relations necessitated by geographical considerations, among others. It is our only way out toward the hinterland. It is, therefore, vital to maintain preferential and fraternal relations with Damascus.

The tripartite agreement is broadly consistent with this principle, but the text of the agreement requires improvements, particularly on three points: the adaption of the political system to the Lebanese social structure; the proposed system of exercising power; and Lebanon's relations with surrounding countries. I discussed these points with President al-Asad at the 11th summit. I suggested to him that the signatories should take account of these observations to make the agreement more realistic. If they agreed, the modified text would be submitted to parliament; if not, the agreement should be submitted to parliament to enable the deputies and representatives of the people to give their viewpoint. I therefore used that channel.

No to a "Headless" State

[Chipaux] Can you clarify your observations on these three points?

[Al-Jumayyil] The proposed system aims to reduce political confessionalism. This is a praiseworthy aim in itself. But it cannot be attained by ignoring the situation in the region and in Lebanon. We sometimes forget the realities of the Lebanese system — the pluralism that has long been a source of wealth and has given Lebanon its specific character. At the same time it is one of our weaknesses, but we must protect this special character and reexamine harmony within pluralism.

The fundamentalism that is spreading throughout the Near East has been ignored. Talking of abolishing confessionalism without curbing this "hegemonism" and "extremism" is likely to exacerbate fears and distrust in the various factions rather than allaying these feelings. We should view this abolition following the example of other pluralist countries that have succeeded in encouraging tolerance without threatening specific characteristics.

In the political sphere the proposed system of exercising power consists in entrusting the duties of president of the Republic and head of government to a six-man collegiate leadership with each member having the right of veto. You can imagine the chaos we are going to cause in the country. Disregarding our institutions means suspending our national sovereignty. This is very serious. Surely a sufficiently strong state that would put an end to anarchy is the precondition for the peace we are seeking? If we do not have this, Lebanon will not only be a danger to itself but will continue to be a danger to others, as Mr Kauffmann, Mr Seurat, Mr Carton, and Mr Fontaine [French nationals kidnapped in Lebanon] have learned to their cost. Surely this leaderless state is the ideal way of perpetuating chaos and establishing the partition of countries [as published?

Finally, with regard to bilateral relations between Lebanon and Syria, it would have been perfectly natural for them to be discussed at government level. Ours are two independent and sovereign states. In France, for instance, it would be frowned upon for the PCF to discuss bilateral Franco-Soviet relations with the USSR. I have always advocated the establishment of very close and preferential relations with Syria, even when it was very dangerous, because I was convinced that that was in our two countries' interests. But these ties can only be developed harmoniously in the framework of complete sovereignty, mutual respect, and reciprocal independence. Instead of a sound and natural development of these ties, an attempt was made to establish a hastily drawn-up principle of very broad complementarity extended to political, military, economic, cultural, and educational relations. Even oppositionists have said that this aspect of the agreement ran counter to national sovereignty.

With regard to these three points, the president's responsibility is to protect the foundations of our existence, to ensure the smooth running of our institutions, and to ensure that our foreign relations are based on national sovereignty and independence.

[Chipaux] On what terms did you leave President Al-Asad?

[Al-Jumayyil] In a friendly and very fraternal atmosphere, which was again displayed during my last telephone conversation.

[Chipaux] What is your verdict on the events of 15 January, which led to the ouster of Elie Hubayqah?

[Al-Jumayyil] These events did not add anything new, since the joint signatories of the agreement had already decided not to accept my proposals. My position certainly disappointed the signatories, but I too am disappointed. I would have like dialogue to be established at national level and arguments to be put forward by the various sides in order to find a consensus.

"A Damaged Country"

[Chipaux] A section of Lebanese and Syrian opinion saw Mr Hubayqah's fall as a plot against the agreement by you and the Lebanese Forces (Christian militia). What do you think of that?

[Al-Jumayyil] These are events that took place between the militia and within the Lebanese Forces themselves. I have always kept the presidency out of party matters and hence more particularly out of the militias.

[Chipaux] What do you advocate for breaking the present deadlock?

[Al-Jumayyil] Lebanon has been in a blind alley for 11 years. When I was elected, I knew where I stood. Lebanon is divided, and nothing much is left of the conventional elements of a healthy state. People think it is a mass of stirred-up hatred. But ours is also a destablized and damaged country... and one which is at war but which, despite everything, is still a democracy. This democracy can be revived and developed as long as some trace of legality remains. That is what I am fighting for.

[Chipaux] Is it still possible to talk of the functioning of the institutions when the prime minister and speaker of the house are boycotting you?

[Al-Jumayyil] This is not the first time we have experienced this kind of situation. We have already had serious ministerial crises and similar splits. But we have no alternative but to reach agreement. And I am trying to restore political dialogue. Even on the basis of the tripartite agreement.

There are a great many direct or indirect contacts between Lebanese parties and factions to try to improve the text of the Damascus agreement so that it is a real step toward peace and not a transitory phase.

In 1969 we accepted a rapid compromise by signing the Cairo agreements — a compromise that organized the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. The situation was grave. We said: "Let's accept this agreement. We shall see!" and what we saw was a war that has lasted for 11 years. We do not want to repeat this.

Let us pick out the seeds of peace that exist in the tripartite agreement. Let us help them to grow and not waste the available opportunities for peace by hurrying things.

No Question of Resignation

[Chipaux] How do you view the opposition campaign to secure your resignation?

[Al-Jumayyil] I am a constitutionally elected president. All nations are made up of one people, one land, and institutions. The people are divided, the land is divided, and the institutions are mainly paralyzed. At the head of the institutions the presidency of the Republic remains active. Resignation in such a situation would lead to a final deadlock in the institutions. When your house is not heated in winter and you are cold, you do not destroy the whole house to turn it into firewood. In the present situation the president of the Republic is the roof of this house. This is not the result of exceptional abilities or even personal ambition — it is quite simply that an elected president must continue to keep democracy alive and in reserve if he wants to keep his self-respect. I would like the Lebanese people to understand this and I would like Lebanon's friends to realize the sense of this struggle and help us to break this deadlock.

[Chipaux] Are you not afraid that the present situation might encourage a new explosion?

[Al-Jumayyil] Things could in fact deteriorate and the situation could get out of control. However, uncertainties should not discourage us and prompt us to accept just any peace agreement. Peace at gunpoint is not a lasting peace but a temporary submission. only a consensus — and I am working for this and want to keep up the chance of it — can end the state of war.

[Chipaux] What do you think of the situation in the "Christian camp" today?

[Al-Jumayyil] The Christians have not always supported me nor have the Muslims always opposed me. In the present situation, a clear majority of the Christian camp are publicly expressing their support for the president of the Republic. Unfortunately, ours is a country at war, in which it is not always possible to express your opinion. But I know that the Muslims are just as concerned as the Christians about democracy and national sovereignty. A president can be Christian but not on the Christians' side. He must ensure that the national interest prevails.

[Chipaux] You recently condemned Israel's annexation of a section of Lebanese territory. What can you do to try to settle the situation in southern Lebanon?

[Al-Jumayyil] The war started in the south, and I think that peace could be brought about by solving the problem of the south. Lebanon is not a big country, and one-third of its territory is still either occupied or being destabilized by Israel. This is a major concern of my policy. This is particularly so because the south is fairly representative of the Lebanese population: You find

Christians, Sunnis, Shi'ites, and Druzes there. Unless the south is pacified intercommunal conflicts could break out and jeopardize all the prospects for peace for which we are working.

It is unfortunate that the south was not dealt with in a substantial and detailed way in the tripartite agreement.

We are very proud of national resistance to the Israeli occupier. But it cannot solve the problem. Internal unity is required to mobilize Arab support and obtain international commitment to support us. We have reason to fear the annexation of part of our territory, as happened on the Golan Heights and on the West Bank. We must also watch out for segregation practiced by Israel to divide the population.

[Chipaux] Will Lebanon request an extension of the mandate of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon on 17 April?

[Al-Jumayyil] The withdrawal of that force would make all kinds of adventures possible.

"The People Are Bewildered"

[Chipaux] The economic crisis and the abrupt fall in the Lebanese pound have hit the Lebanese people hard. Do you think this fall is part of the many kinds of pressure exerted on Lebanon?

[Al-Jumayyil] This latest crisis was the straw that broke the camel's back. War cannot be waged in opulence. After 10 years the Lebanese people have been bled dry and their reserves are exhausted. In addition to the war there is a regional economic crisis and there are fluctuations in the dollar. But we are now responding.

I have formed an economic crisis committee, which is a standing committee and has prompted the introduction of an austerity policy and an injection of funds to promote investment in production. Some 3 billion Lebanese pounds have been allocated to an industrial recovery planm. I have confidence in Lebanon's economic future. And above all in the spirit of invention and enterprise of Lebanese people not to mention their tenacity.

[Chipaux] Are you not afraid that the price of your refusal might be too high, since the Lebanese people want peace more than anything?

[Al-Jumayyil] If you respect democracy, want to involve the largest number of parties in the peace process, and insist on the role of the institutions, are you rejecting or seeking peace?

Do the majority of Lebanese want to build security purely on a balance of forces, rather than institutionalizing an agreement and involving the majority of the country's vital forces in it? The essential thing is not to arrive at a mere security agreement but to set in motion a real peace process.

Does this agreement really stem from national awareness? I am not the only one to doubt this.

[Chipaux] Is there now one or are there several national consciences?

[Al-Jumayyil] The fact that I am still in office is not the result of a miracle. I am convinced that deep down every Lebanese is still conscious of belonging to his country. Peace in Lebanon should be achieved with Syria. But it must not be achieved by Syria. It must be achieved with Syria's help but through dialogue among the Lebanese themselves.

[Chipaux] What is the Lebanese president's state of mind today?

[Al-Jumayyil] My faith in this country and its values, in its people and its traditions, the awareness that I am fulfilling a task of Lebanese and human dimensions help me to overcome all problems. After 10 years of war the Lebanese people are bewildered, and I understand that. Foreign interference, the temptations of some and the ambitions of others, and the attacks on their sovereignty are the causes of their disarray. Hope rests with the Lebanese who are aware of their responsibilities, who realize that there can be no salvation for their country outside the secular democratic traditions that have always united them. This Lebanese unity is vital to Lebanon's survival and to the region's stability.

Past President Franjiyah Urges Syrian Intervention

PM190957 London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
15-21 Feb 86 pp 8-9

[Interview with former Lebanese President Sulayman Franjiyah by Jamil Ni'mah in Zgharta — date not given]

[Excerpts] [Ni'mah] Is your position on the basic articles of the tripartite agreement, especially on the issues of the president's powers, on tripartite participation based on equal sharing of power, and on the future abolition of political sectarianism still unchaged?

[Franjiyah] My position is still the same. What concerns every Lebanese now is to sleep assured that there will be a tomorrow. When the fighting stops, the Lebanese will go to sleep reassured. As for the political issues, the politicians are the ones to decide whether the president is entitled or not entitled to vote, keeping in mind that so far he has not had a vote in the cabinet. It is up to the ministers and the prime minister to express opinions and draw conclusions. Part of the agreement is acceptable. As for the other part, it is better if it is delayed until the fighting is ended. Any agreement reached today will be criticized in the future as an agreement dictated to one of the two factions. For an agreement to be good, there has to be dialogue among the parties concerned. Out of this dialogue, what is temporarily essential is adopted and then time will tell whether what is not agreed to through dialogue is right or wrong.

[Ni'mah] Do you intend to follow the course of positive opposition, which relies on constitutional rules, now that you have received from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad assurances regarding your opposition to the political articles included in the agreement?

[Franjiyah] President Hafiz al-Asad is more concerned with the Lebanese interest than any Lebanese official is. I can declare this to the entire world. But President al-Asad does not wish to impose his will on the lebanese. If we had a proper legitimate government that is concerned with its people and its country, then it would ask President al-Asad to do what it wants.

[Ni'mah] Now that the cards in the eastern area have been reshuffled and Elie Hubayqah has left Lebanon, do you think that the agreement has any chance of being implemented and achieving its objectives?

[Franjiyah] This is something that does not concern me. What concerns me is that this agreement should reach, God willing, the Chamber of Deputies. It will select what is good for Lebanon and approve it, and reject what is not good for it.

[Ni'mah] Do you think that recent developments in the eastern zone will lead to the renewed eruption of war on the contact lines?

[Franjiyah] This is what the future will determine.

[Ni'mah] How do you view the future of the Christians in Lebanon and what is required of their leaders to avert what is said about "numerous dangers" engulfing them?

[Franjiyah] (After a short pause) The Christians have lived in Lebanon since Christ. Throughout the past 2000 years, they have lived in fraternity with whoever has been here. They have never been influenced by any circumstance, except when there has been a third party manipulating one of the two sides, the Christians or the non-Christians.

[Ni'mah] Do you still favor floating the idea of conveing the national conference in Damascus?

[Franjiyah] Certainly, because a national conference is for settling a dispute between two factions. There will, of course, be an umpire. There can be no umpire other than Damascus.

[Ni'mah] So Damascus is the only umpire for the Lebanese crisis?

[Franjiyah] This is my opinion.

[Ni'mah] Do you think that Israel was behind what happened in the eastern zone?

[Franjiyah] Israel is behind all that has happened in Lebanon. As we know, Israel plans for hundreds of years to come. Israel's plan at present is to evict the Lebanese. I say this because the ill-mentioned Henry Kissinger personally offered to help me emigrate. When the Lebanese emigrate, the land will become unpopulated and the Palestinian will be told: You have lost your homeland in Palestine, here, take Lebanon for a homeland. Israel will thus rid itself of the Palestinian problem, will seize all of Palestine, and end the Palestinian problem and the problem of the Holy Land.

[Ni'mah] It is the belief of the United States and Israel that the Palestinian people are a separete issue. Will not the Lebanese people become a similar issue if they are compelled to emigrate from their homeland?

[Franjiyah] In the U.S. view, the Lebanese are not afraid of emigration. Most Lebanese are immigrants. Every Lebanese, with the exception of a very small minority, has brothers or relatives abroad to turn to, learning their country's language and working as the first immigrant did. The Lebanese clings to this land more than anything else in the world. But when he feels that danger threatens his children, he temporarily sacrifices his land to protect his children. We have proven strongly that we cling to our land. There is no doubt that we have sacrificed greatly to safeguard this dear land.

[Ni'mah] One of the ideas proposed in Damascus is to boycott the regime officially, politically, and even administratively as a first step in the response to foiling the agreement.

[Franjiyah] Are these ideas proposed by Damascus or by a Lebanese living in Damascus? The proposal is made by a Lebanese living in Damascus. There is no doubt in my mind that the regime is being boycotted. We hear from neither the press nor the other media that so and so or such and such visited the president, keeping in mind that before this president, B'abda was the place visited most by the Lebanese. Today, without demand and without media, the regime is boycotted at the Lebanese level. This is due to the course this regime has followed, namely the course of a single family and single party. Lebanon is not accustomed to this kind of regime. Lebanon is a democratic country and every Lebanese is entitled to the same rights as everybody else. Regrettably, the Lebanese are nowadays divided into various categories, some with no rights and some whose rights are taken away.

[Ni'mah] Do you still cling to the National Salvation Front Charter?

[Franjiyah] This is my personal conviction and I have expressed it to the Lebanese people. I will, of course, continue to cling to this charter until somebody comes along and convinces me that this or that provision is unfit. When the charter was prepared, I presented it to the Lebanese people so that everybody could have his say. In my latest document, I have asked the brother Muslims to draft their own document so that we may hold a dialogue on its basis.

[Ni'mah] Where will former President Franjiyah stand should Syria decide on a military solution and actually embark on a military operation against the eastern areas to topple the regime?

[Franjiyah] (Without hestiation) I wish President al-Asad would take such a position, not only to end the fighting in the eastern area but also to collect weapons in Lebanon, especially the heavy weapons. Should such an initiative be made, everything will be stopped.

[Ni'mah] A final question: What is your personal initiative to overcome the crisis experienced by the country?

[Franjiyah] The only initiative is to put an end to Israel's lackeys. Regrettably, many big shots, and very big shots at that, are nowadays lackeys of Israel and they pay the price for the positions they have attained due to Israel.

Birri Addresses Marchers on S. Lebanon Fighting

NC191307 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic
1130 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Addressing a student demonstration that traversed the capital and stopped in front of his house today, Minister Nabih Birri stated: We said yesterday that we challenge Israel to remain in the south. We made this challenge because we know well that you lion cubs, students, and masses will never abandon your people in the south.

Minister Birri continued: They have brandished shotguns, clubs, and sticks in defense of the southern soil and of our rights. Israel should understand that our lion cubs will fight for every atom of our soil. Israel's real objective behind this invasion — to establish security arrangements — is rejected, rejected, rejected.

Minister Birri added: On your behalf, I denounce such security arrangements. Israel, despite the U.S. support, will fail to attain this objective.

Concluding his address, Minister Birri said: We demand an unconditional Israeli withdrawal. The resistance and your efforts will cause this withdrawal.

Birri Comments on Aims of Israeli Attack in South

NC191502 (Clandestine) Voice of the Mountain
in Arabic to Lebanon 1400 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Nabih Birri said in a statement today that the vicious attack by the Israeli occupation forces in the south has three aims: To split the resistance and the people, to impose pressure for previously rejected Israeli security arrangements, and to support an internal Lebanese trend that has emerged from the rejection of the tripartite agreement.

Nabih Birri added: The struggle of our people in the south will foil these three aims. He noted that there is no Arab criticism of, or response of any kind to, the events in the south. However, throughout the Middle East, Arabs comment on many other events.

Birri said that Israeli helicopters today carried out a landing operation in the area adjacent to Srifa township. Fierce battles raged in the Haris township, which the occupation forces had isolated. They subjected Haris citizens to terrorist violence, the details of which are not yet known. In the Bra'shit township, a number of houses were demolished.

Replying to a question, Birri asserted: We reiterate that the Security Council has become merely a forum for propoganda. Due to the misuse of the veto, we do not attach importance to the council, particularly its discussions of terrorism. However, we would like to praise the stand of the UN secretary general, who criticized Israel for establishing the security zone.

Spanish Ambassador, Birri Hold News Conference

NC191939 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic
1715 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Pedro Manuel de Aristegui, the Spanish ambassador to Lebanon, held a news conference at his residence in Al-Hadath in Beirut today. Pedro Sanchez, Gaspar 'Abduh, and As'ad 'Abduh, the three Spanish Embassy employees released this morning after having been kidnapped approximately 1 month ago, were present at the conference. (Raphael Pasteur), Spanish under secretary for interior, and (Juan Manuel Monima), an embassy counsellor, were also in attendance.

The Spanish ambassador told journalists that the three men had been released without any concessions being made by Spanish authorities to the abductors' demands that Shi'ite prisoners being held in Spain be freed. The Spanish ambassador said that the matter of the Shi'ites' release is in the hands of the law. Arrangements have been made, the ambassador added, to prevent any future incidents of abduction. At this point, the ambassador affirmed his strong denouncement of kidnapping in general. The Spanish ambassador also denied any knowledge of the party responsible for this abduction.

Minister Nabih Birri, who had played a mediating role in the release of the three embassy officials and who had actually delivered them to the Spanish ambssador, was asked about the fate of his former proposal that the Lebanese prisoners be transferred from Spain to Beirut. He replied: It is all up to Spanish justice. Birri elaborated by explaining that the Spanish delegation had made it clear that the case is still being heard in court and that the officials involved understand the circumstances of the situation. The final decision will be made by the competent Spanish courts, Birri concluded.

Further on Islamic Resistance, Captured Israelis

Execution Threat Reiterated

NC191911 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic
1900 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The Islamic Resistance reiterated a short while ago that it will carry out the promise it made yesterday to execute one of the two Israeli intelligence officers captured last Monday at 2100 [1900 GMT] tonight, that is to say now, if the Israeli occupation forces do not withdraw from the south.

One Israeli Reported Executed

NC192100 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic
2040 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] In a telephone call received by the Beirut office of the Abu Dhabi paper *AL-ITTIHAD*, Abu Muhammad, a spokesman for the Islamic Resistance, announced the execution of one of the two Israeli soldiers it had been holding. The statement said: In the name of God, the omnipotent. Fight them, and God will punish them at your hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of believers [Koranic verse].

In honoring the promise that we made earlier to our kinsfolk and our nation, the Islamic Resistance executed one of the two Israeli hostages at exactly 2100 tonight.

The statement adds: The Islamic Resistance announces that it will continue to proceed with its operations of struggle against the Zionist invaders until they are defeated and retreat from all the occupied territories of the Muslims.

The Islamic Resistance will issue another statement about the execution. Victory to the Islamic Resistance until Israel is wiped out of existence. Peace be with you.

Execution Claim Disavowed

NC192135 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic
2115 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpts] According to reports available to the Voice of Lebanon, groups of gunmen are touring the southern suburb with loudspeakers, announcing that the martyr Raghib Harb group of the Islamic Resistance executed one of the two captured Israeli intelligence officers at 2100 today. Later on tonight, however, an anonymous caller claiming to represent Hizballah telephoned the Voice of Lebanon and said that Hizballah had not executed either of the two Israeli prisoners.

Amal Security Report Updates Fighting in South

NC191856 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic
1630 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpts] According to a security source from the Amal Movement, resistance fighters destroyed two vehicles belonging to the enemy during a clash in Haris today. The enemy, forced to withdraw from the town, then used Merkava tanks to shell it. The occupation forces also entered Tibnin, where they gathered the inhabitants at the government hospital, subjected them to a long interrogation, and prevented them from moving freely through the town.

The enemy tried to land paratroopers near the towns of (Frisa) and Frun at 1000 this morning. However, fierce battles erupted between these forces and National Resistance men.

Enemy forces surrounded Haddathah at noon. Tanks and infantry groups were seen on the Qa'qa'iyat al-Jsir line and in the Al-Bayyadah area.

Enemy gunboats encountered stiff resistance when they attempted to approach the shore near Tyre. They were forced to withdraw after firing a shell that landed in the Al-Khara'ib area.

In another development, the National Resistance Front has issued a statement saying that the Al-Aqsa Liberation Forces have intercepted an enemy military convoy that was trying to advance from Shihin to [word indistinct]. During the 30-minute clash between these forces and personnel from the convoy, rockets and machineguns were used and two M-113 armored personnel carriers were destroyed.

The enemy was able to recover the bodies of three Israelis who had fallen in Haris tonight.

When an Israeli vehicle exploded in Haris at 1100 this morning, the enemy forces became hysterical and opened fire randomly. Mahmud Salim Isma'il and Wadi' Mustafa Dhahir were killed by this fire.

Reportage on Reaction to King Husayn's Speech

Peres Reacts 'Favorably'

TA200945 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0940 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Prime Minister Shim'on Peres has reacted favorably to the speech delivered by Jordanian King Husayn. Mr Peres said the Jordanian king has not slammed shut the door, and the future now depends on the residents of the territories. Peres said he does not know whether chances for the continuation of the peace process have increased, but the horizon has cleared. There are considerable and quite interesting possibilities for the continuation of the peace process. Mr Peres noted that Husayn told the residents of the territories what we have been trying to tell them: The PLO is not leading toward a solution; it has no solution, and it remains an obstacle on the path to peace.

Further Details

TA201117 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Prime Minister Shim'on Peres says he is not surprised at King Husayn's divorcing himself from the PLO. He said alternatives must be found in order to continue the peace process. Prime Minister Peres talked to reporter Tony Gadot:

[Begin Peres recording] I am not surprised. From the very beginning I didn't believe that something good can come out with the negotiations with the PLO. The PLO is not negotiating opportunity but assembling blocks on the road to peace, and from that point of view I think that the king was very realistic in assessing the position of the PLO, and I think by moving aside the PLO opportunity, we will have to think now about alternatives which I do believe exist. I don't know what is the next step; I don't know what is the direction that remains the direction of peace. [end recording]

Rabin Interview

TA192113 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1940 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Interview with Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin on "Moqed" program, with Nisim Mish'al, moderator, and correspondents Eli Nisan and Moshe Shlonsky — live in studio]

[Text] **[Mish'al]** Good evening. The Moqed program's guest is Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin. The kidnapping of the two soldiers in Lebanon, the ultimatum the kidnappers have presented, unilateral autonomy, relations between the Likud and the Alignment, and the rotation question, will be discussed this evening with our guest Yitzhaq Rabin. Here with me in the studio are Eli Nisan and Moshe Shlonsky. Good evening, Mr Defense Minister.
[Rabin] Good evening.

[Mish'al] We will begin with Husayn's speech. We heard it together in the studio. In fact, we heard Husayn give 'Arafat a divorce. I would like to ask you for an initial reaction to the speech.
[Rabin] This really is an initial reaction. The impression is that he has made an historic, pointed accounting with the PLO as a factor that has foiled and is foiling him in his attempts to further a political process leading to a solution to the dispute between Jordan, the Palestinians, and Israel. The second thing is the emotional appeal to the inhabitants of the territories and the Arab people as a whole to do something. Accordingly, if the king does not intend to try to pressure 'Arafat to change his position and if the inhabitants of the territories really do understand that this is the moment of truth and, for the first time, take an initiative to take their future into their own hands and join Husayn, it may be that this is an opening in a new direction and a chance for a dialogue. What do I mean? Husayn said: I will not go alone, on my own initiative. On the other hand, the appeal to the inhabitants of the territories was different compared with all of Husayn's past speeches. In my opinion, this is an historic opportunity, and, as defense minister, I call on the leaders of the inhabitants of the territories to rid themselves of the PLO, rid themselves of all kinds of external elements, rise up on their own feet with their own right to care for the 1.25 million Palestinians living in the territories, and to join Husayn in a negotiating process with Israel and without the PLO.

[Mish'al] Mr Rabin, if I were to sum up your opening remarks in one sentence, it would be that there is a new opening for political negotiations; we will return to Husayn's speech later on. I would like to begin to talk about the matter of the kidnapped soldiers. The ultimatum presented by the Hizballah members expired about 40 minutes ago. Do you have any updated information?
[Rabin] No. I do not at this moment have anything to add to the very fact of the ultimatum's existence and that at about 2045 it was mentioned by Lebanese television.

[Mish'al] And they repeated the ultimatum?
[Rabin] They did indeed.

[Nisan] Is there actually any expectation that we will see this happen? This is what I understand, because there is no other information. Or can we, on the basis of past experience, evaluate whether the Hizballah is capable of carrying out its threats in this case? What is the real weight of this ultimatum?
[Rabin] The Hizballah organization is the most murderous and cruel of the terrorist organizations. I would just like to recall that the organization committed the kamikaze action on the U.S. Marines headquarters in Lebanon, in which hundreds were killed. It committed the attack against our camp in Tyre. All of them were kamikaze attacks. There was the attack against the U.S. Embassy. In those four [number as heard] attacks, more tham 500 were killed. It has committed acts of murder in the most cruel way and I admit that I am filled with concern about the ultimatum. In my view, if our prisoners really are being held by them, I would treat that ultimatum with gravity and concern.

[Shlonsky] The Russians, when four of their diplomats were kidnapped in Beirut, negotiated with one of the Hizballah members and got their four diplomats released immediately afterward. Is Israel also thinking of such a possibility?
[Rabin] I think you are not being quite precise. The Soviets appealed to the Syrians to work in Tripoli to achieve the goals of

the organization that kidnapped the Soviet diplomats, and that was a Sunni organization, a fundamentalist one, which may have worked in cooperation with the Hizballah. Actually, Soviet pressure was applied to Syria to accede to some of the demands made by Shaykh — I do not remember his name — who leads the Sunni sect which is opposed by the 'Alawites, with Syrian support, and whom they fought in Tripoli.

[Shlonsky] Mr Rabin, you mentioned the Syrians. Do they have any connection with this kidnapping?
[Rabin] There may be some sort of indirect connection. The Hizballah is an element that works independently. It is true that the Syrians control the Lebanese Al-Biqa', the center, the Hizballah snake's head is in Ba'labakk, but I would not say that they dictate to the Hizballah. However, they might have an influence. The main influence, though, lies in Iran's hands, not in Syria's.

[Nisan] Do we know with certainty that the soldiers are in southern Lebanon? There are so many IDF soldiers in the area. Why are they are going on and on with the search operations?
[Rabin] At this stage, we have no certainty as to where the soldiers are being held, where the Hizballah personnel are holding our prisoners. There is no doubt that they were held by them and they succeeded in transferring the soldier's documents, the tags, their imprisonment documents, to Beirut; these were really shown. To what extent they succeeded in transferring the prisoners themselves to outside the area closed by us is something we have no certainty about and so we will continue with the search until either it is established that they are somewhere else, or until we conclude that the search will not discover their whereabouts.

[Nisan] Mr Rabin, I understand that, for the moment, there is actually no certainty either that any action can be taken against the Hizballah as part of the current IDF deployment. Do we, in fact, face a situation in which there will be a war between an elephant and a gnat? What is the purpose of this operation?
[Rabin] It is perhaps worthwhile, with all the pain and sorrow and concern about the kidnapping of the two soldiers, for us to see the comprehensive picture. In practice, the main problem, our objective in our policy in Lebanon -- in which terrorism was not eliminated during 3 years of war -- is to safeguard the Galilee, our northern border, our settlements and their inhabitants. The security zone and our activity there is necessary. We would not have been carrying out this large-scale action except as an expression of the IDF's responsibility for the fate of its soldiers, soldiers who have carried out a certain task in the security zone. The responsibility and concern for IDF soldiers who are sent on a mission can take various forms, sometimes the willingness to conduct negotiations when they are captured, but certainly to do everything reasonable to find them before they are taken somewhere inaccessible. I would like to remind us all that ever since the State of Israel was established we have not succeeded in carrying out an operation to release prisoners or hostages when they were held in an Arab country. There was one successful operation to release hostages outside Israeli territory, that was the rescue of the hostages in Entebbe, the Yonatan Campaign. There have been strikes against perpetrators of attacks against us; they are happening now, and there will be strikes in the future. We will not ignore those who perpetrated this abominable operation, this murderous operation, and I am not certain that their intention was simply to kidnap. The fire power that was directed at the car leaves no doubt that if they had succeeded, they [the soldiers] would have been killed. It may be that because they were not killed, they were captured.

[Nisan] That is to say that from the very beginning, in fact, the goal was not to kidnap, but to hit.
[Rabin] According to the fire power, the number of hits on the car, it was, first of all, an operation to kill, and, if possible, to kidnap.

[Shlonsky] Following this event, do you not think that the IDF presence in the security strip is actually a trap? On one hand, we do not want too great a presence; on the other hand, if we are too few, we are then liable to be attacked.
[Rabin] Our main objective was and remains security for the Galilee by using the security strip in its present form. If this act of kidnapping had not been carried out or if, heaven forbid, heavier fire is directed against our settlements than is currently the case, we will carry out actions which go beyond the security zone. Therefore, this action is aimed at demonstrating responsibility for the fate of the soldiers. It is not aimed at guaranteeing the Galilee's safety.

[Mish'al] Mr Rabin, this evening we heard that the Shi'ites have announced a general mobilization. Do you not think that our current presence in southern Lebanon could lead to a sharpening, to a deterioration, a renewal of hostilities with the Shi'ites?
[Rabin] Look, we have announced, and this really is our intention and it is also our intention today, that after the searches are completed we will return to our activity as it was prior to the kidnapping -- of course, in accordance with changing circumstances. We have explained through various channels, to the inhabitants, and to the main organization, Amal, what our objective is and how we will act after the searches are completed. I hope, I want to believe, that it is in the interests of the Shi'ite residents to coexist peacefully with Israel, with some activity against the security strip. And I hope that the Amal leadership, the leadership of the Shi'ite inhabitants, will really accept these explanations.

[Nisan] Mr Rabin, I understand there is a certain lack of clarity regarding the UNIFIL role in southern Lebanon. According to the description, I understand that there are two UNIFIL positions in roughly the same sector, the same place where the incident occurred. Is there any information that might confirm whether UNIFIL personnel knew or could have known about the kidnapping?
[Rabin] I have reasons to assume that they saw movements by a Hizballah element which may very well have been connected with the execution of the kidnapping. I doubt whether they knew that the action was aimed at a kidnapping. I will add one simple word: UNIFIL has not changed anything with regard to the perpetrators of the action and it is not interfering with us in the search operations.

[Nisan] Does UNIFIL have any purpose?
[Rabin] In my opinion, UNIFIL, from Israel's viewpoint, can go home.
[Mish'al] Goodness me. Has this been said to them?
[Rabin] Many, many times.

[Mish'al] Mr Rabin, we will move on to the matter of the Jews who are in Lebanon. Yesterday a Jew was again murdered, another Jew, one of the leaders of the Jewish community there, and the question is what can Israel do to stop these murders?
[Rabin] We have no possibility of preventing the terrorist organizations of the various types, with Hizballah at their head, from capturing Jews in Beirut. We are not there. We can see only one thing, to speak and work to the best of our abilities, so that they know that they will not go scot-free after such acts; and more than that cannot be done.

[Mish'al] Are we trying to set up some sort of negotiations, establish some sort of contact with the kidnappers of those Jews?
[Rabin] They are not trying to establish contact with us; we cannot establish a contact with them.

[Shlonsky] From time to time they present an ultimatum.
[Rabin] They have presented several ultimatums and I want to refer to the ultimatum concerning our two kidnapped soldiers, too, as well as the Jews in Beirut. There has been a pointed argument in Israel in cases involving negotiations over the release or return of our prisoners or hostages when this was connected with the release of terrorists, but there has never been an argument over the fact that Israel cannot accept conditions connected with the IDF deployment or its policy. The demands, both by the Hizballah with regard to the two prisoners, the two kidnapees, and with regard to the Jewish kidnapees from Beirut, are not on the level of exchanges of prisoners. They are political demands, military demands, that are connected with the IDF deployment and our security policy. These are issues over which there is no room for negotiations.

[Mish'al] Mr Rabin, I would like to devote the next moments to Husayn's speech with which we opened. Eli, go ahead.
[Nisan] Yes. Mr Rabin, in your reaction to Husayn's speech, in fact you appealed from here, from the studio, to the inhabitants of the territories and suggested to them that they respond to King Husayn's call to take the initiative, in fact, to take their fate into their own hands. The question is, does the current reality in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza enable the Palestinian masses to express their political desires? Is there any such possibility?
[Rabin] The problem in the Arab world is not the masses.

[Nisan] No, in the territories....

[Rabin, interrupting] The problem in the territories is whether five, seven, eight leaders will arise who will recognize the fact that to date the PLO has undermined all the chances of reaching any solution. Will any such people arise and say: We are taking upon ourselves the leadership of the inhabitants of the territories. We are joining King Husayn. We are prepared, on the basis of the conditions to which King Husayn agreed with the United States, to come to peace negotiations with Israel. They have no other chance and they must begin to understand this. What are they waiting for? A miracle? Can anyone still believe that the PLO will present some sort of solution, after they have heard King Husayn's long speech? A golden opportunity has been given to them here to take their fate into their hands. The question is whether there are such people there, such leaders, such mayors who will get up and say: In the current conditions, in the Arab world, there is no democracy, there are no elections. We are taking our fate into our own hands. We want peace. King Husayn has called to us. Let us go with him to negotiations over peace.

[Shlonsky] And what can Israel do to move toward these elements, to resume the political negotiations?
[Rabin] As I see it, every inhabitant of the territories has the rightto be a partner in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation which is to conduct negotiations over peace with Israel; he has the right to tell them: Friends, take matters into your own hands; form a team, be partners with Jordan, be the Palestinian component in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

[Nisan] Mr Rabin, do you know any such leaders who could be partners? Personally?
[Rabin] I know people of this sort who will tell you, when you are alone with them, what King Husayn said about the PLO, but they fear for their lives. They fear for their status in the Arab world; now, perhaps, with the exception of Jordan. They are afraid to take this initiative and if King Husayn really does encourage them and we permit them, an opening has been made here. I have no certainty about what will happen.

[Mish'al] One thing more on this issue. If this is so, can you evaluate the reaction of the inhabitants of the territories to Husayn's speech? That is to say, in fact, what you said in conclusion to your remarks is that you do not believe that leaders will arise with the public courage....
[Rabin, interrupting] I did not say that I do not believe. I said I am appealing to them. Whether they arise or not, time will tell. To this day they have been afraid, because they have been living under threats of murder or murder of their relatives by the PLO.

[Shlonsky] Let us go over to the daily relations between Israel and the inhabitants of the territories. Last week, and perhaps not coincidentally, the question of unilateral autonomy came up once again. Why do you actually object to the prime minister's position on this matter?
[Rabin] First of all, I do not know that the prime minister supports the notion of unilateral autonomy. I do not know of anything entitled unilateral autonomy. By definition, autonomy is the result of agreement. The autonomy was first mentioned as part of the Camp David accords and the partners to an agreement on the implementation of the autonomy were Israel, Egypt, and the inhabitants of the territories, while Jordan was invited to join. There can be no autonomy, at least not a unanimously accepted one, between us and the inhabitants of the territories. Therefore, there is no such thing as unilateral autonomy. There may be a unilateral pullout but I am vehemently opposed to a unilateral pullout of the IDF from part of the territories, and certainly to a reduction in the number of troops currently stationed in the large population centers. I also think that the fact that King Husayn appealed to the inhabitants of the territories justifies Israel's refraining from taking a rash step. Those who want to ultimately arrive at negotiations must show that they are able to endure and are able to run affairs in the territories, in addition to their ability to go on keeping a military presence there. How to endure for a long period of time, that is another question altogether. However, I believe that any statement which reflects impatience, which shows that we are standing on our toes and that we can no longer endure, undermines the chances of ever arriving at negotiations.

[Nisan] Mr Rabin, on several occasions Israel promised the Americans and the Egyptians to see to improving the quality of life in the territories. As I see it, the reference was not to landscape designing but to the overall quality of life. This certainly fits in with your own appeals to the inhabitants of the territories to take their fate into their own hands. Has anything significant been done in the period you have been serving as defense minister to improve the quality of life in the territories?

[Rabin] When talking about quality of life in the territories one should initially define this term. Basically, on the assumption that most inhabitants of the territories are not involved in terrorism, the purpose is to allow them to run their own daily lives. There is no intention to change the legal basis or to abolish the apparatus of the Military Government and the Civilian Administration. The first thing would be to have Arab mayors run Arab towns. I have no ideological feelings about having an Israeli officer serve as mayor of an Arab town. The first Arab mayor was appointed in Nabulus and the purpose is to keep on this track according to possibilities and the security requirements. The purpose is to give them more prestigious administrative tasks within the Civilian Administration in the fields of education, health, and agriculture. The purpose is to give them more freedom in economic and other fields of daily life, help them promote their economy, and give them more liberty in running their own life. I am not referring to anything beyond that.

[Mish'al] In the 6 minutes left until the end of the program I would like to touch upon relations within the government, between the Likud and the Alignment. Perhaps we should start with your own party. Pressure has been mounting within the Labor Party, by senior ministers as well, to disband the national unity government and to go for new elections. What is your position on this matter? Your voice has actually not been heard on this matter.

[Rabin] My point of departure is that there is a coalition agreement and, being a signatory to this agreement both as an individual and as part of a party, I think we should abide by it. At the same time, when fundamental problems are at stake, problems which will have an impact on the direction vital and substantial state issues take, one must take a position and fight for one's belief even if that leads to the disbanding of the government.

[Mish'al] In other words, the agreement should not be kept at all costs.

[Rabin] What I say is: If the majority decides on a vital issue then this decision must be carried out. Whoever refuses to accept this decision and resolves to split, well, that is his own problem. In my opinion, the chief problem at present — unless a breakthrough is made in the political direction regarding negotiations with Jordan and such a notion is unacceptable to the other component of the government — is an economic one. I would like to say that what happened is that the toughest part of curbing inflation and preventing a drop in our foreign currency reserves was actually borne by the Alignment ministers. I think that the cut in the defense budget is unprecedented and entails dangers and risks for Israel....

[Mish'al, interrupting] Likud ministers will step forward and say that the labor and welfare minister and others are members of the Likud. So, the distribution is not that bad.

[Rabin] In my opinion, we took harsh measures and we scored achievements. However, when taking such measures one must see to it that the plan succeeds and also that the patient does not die. Therefore, amendments must be made which are called for by the severity of the consequences of the economic plan, particularly in the productive sector and in some basic premises of the social fabric.

[Shlonsky] What you are actually saying is that if the Alignment's position in the argument over economic growth is not accepted then you would be in favor of disbanding the government.

[Rabin] I think we should strive for recovery as a stage in the growth of the productive sector. If agriculture is ruined but the plan succeeds, what sort of a plan would that be? If large productive sectors go bankrupt and are closed down, what sort of a plan would that be?

[Mish'al] Still, why is a connection made between economic growth and the rotation of the premiership? The timing is a little bit too close, the date of the rotation is approaching.

[Rabin] The results of the plan, both positive and negative, are only now emerging. Therefore, I think it is our duty, in view of the fact that Shim'on Peres is the prime minister, to be publicly responsible for the plan, both for its positive and serious results. We should stop for a moment and say: Let us amend things together. I would be glad if we could discuss the proposals for the recovery and growth of the productive sector together, obviating the need for a rift in the unity government.

[Nisan] Mr Rabin, at least in the Labor Party there is another version which holds that the rotation should not be regarded as a mere tactical move. A colleague of yours, Minister Ya'aqov Tzur — who is a member of the Allon camp which you head — proposes that the issue should be put to a democratic vote in the Labor Party. Do you accept this position?

[Rabin] I do not second such a proposal. We signed an agreement and we must show that we abide by it. At the same time, the problem today in the socioeconomic sphere is that the plan was successful but it leads to serious phenomena which, in my opinion, call for an amendment and adjustment of the economic plan so as to avoid the destruction of agriculture and parts of the productive sector. What is the good of not having inflation but not having production either?

[Shlonsky] If the demand of your party colleagues is accepted and the elections are brought forward, would you again consider yourself a candidate for the premiership?

[Rabin] You ask me such hypothetical questions that, believe me, I have not even thought up myself.

[Nisan] It could happen tomorrow.

[Rabin] It will not happen tomorrow. The problem now is a national one: What happens now? How do we go about repairing the damages of the economic plan? Incidentally, I was glad to hear today that the chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee, Knesset Member Avraham Shapiro, said that in the absence of growth the economy will collapse — and he is not a member of the Labor Party.

[Mish'al] We are nearing the end of our program, and here is the last question. You told Moshe Shlonsky that you are not thinking about running for the premiership in the future, so let me ask you a question in your capacity as former prime minister. How do you relate to what has been happening in the latest Cabinet sessions in which, terms such as heaven help us, liar, fat face, maniac, and others were used. Did such things also happen during your tenure?

[Rabin] I am not saying that harsh words were not exchanged in previous Cabinets, and certainly not in the Cabinet in which I served as prime minister. However, I think I cannot recall such a low level, at least not in the Cabinets of which I was a member. I think there are various phenomena, first and foremost in relations between the Fianance Ministry and other ministries, which cannot be tolerated by any Cabinet.

[Mish'al] What is the reason for this? Does this stem from ideological differences or lack of manners?

[Rabin] I can only give you an example. The state budget was presented and the Knesset's Finance and Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees were scheduled to hold a meeting with me and with defense establishment officials about the defense budget. The finance minister informed the chairman of the Finance Committee that he had not approved the defense budget. As far as I know, it is the Cabinet that approves the budget rather than the finance minister. The Knesset approved the budget in its first hearing. Who has ever heard of such a thing, that the chairman of the Finance Committee rather than the finance minister should inform me that I should not hold the meeting and that I should call it off since he had not approved the budget. I do not need the approval of the finance minister for the defense budget which had been approved by the Cabinet.

[Mish'al] Well, the finance minister is not here to comment but I assume that he will find the occasion to counter this argument as well. I thank you for coming to the Moqed studio and I also thank my colleagues, Moshe Shlonsky and Eli Nisan. To the audience at home, a very good evening from Jerusalem.

Foreign Ministry 'Not Surprised'

TA200635 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Report by political correspondent Shim'on Schiffer]

[Text] Prime Minister Shim'on Peres may react to Husayn's speech today, in the course of several public appearances he is scheduled to make. So far, the discernable reaction coming from Peres' close circle is characterized by extreme caution and statements that the contacts between Israel and Jordan will continue in the venue of quiet and secret diplomacy, through the Americans. The two main questions asked in Jerusalem are whether Husayn has divorced the PLO or is it only another tactical move, and most importantly, what will be Husayn's conclusions regarding the future of the political process in the region? Will he now turn to direct negotiations with Israel as the representative of the Palestinian cause?

According to political observers, one of the striking things in Husayn's speech was that Husayn appeared as the savior of the Palestinians. The PLO was no longer considered the only factor which represents the Palestinians. Another thing that came out in the speech was complete confirmation of the intensive negotiations held recently between the PLO and the United States through Jordan.

The first clear and direct political reaction came from Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin yesterday in television's Moqed interview program. Mr Rabin called on the inhabitants of the territories to join King Husayn for peace negotiations without the PLO. Minister Rabin received the impression that the Jordanian king settled a historical account with the PLO, which has foiled his attempts to advance the political process in the region.

The reaction we managed to extract from the Foreign Ministry was this: We need more time to analyze the speech. However, unofficially, the Foreign Ministry told us: We are not surprised by Husayn's attitude toward the PLO. We knew beforehand that the PLO is not a partner to the political process, because it constitutes an obstacle on the road to peace. Our position was, and still is, that the only way to solve the conflict is through direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. So much for the Foreign Ministry's reaction.

Husayn, as usual, slapped everybody but, also as usual, did not close the doors to the PLO, the United States, or Israel. At the same time, however, he did not walk through any of these doors.

Further Details

TA201100 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1047 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Following the prime minister's reaction, here is the official Foreign Ministry reaction to Husayn's speech of yesterday: Foreign Ministry spokesman Avi Pazner says Husayn's speech in fact confirms Israel's claim that the PLO is an obstacle to peace, contributes nothing toward peace, and cannot be a partner to the peace process. Israel still believes the only way to attain peace is through direct negotiations on the basis of the Camp David agreements, and we hope that the recent events will bring King Husayn to the same realization.

Circles in the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem told our political correspondent 'Oz Frankel that they know nothing about a written promise given to King Husayn, in which the United States undertakes to invite the PLO to an international peace conference if this organization meets its demands. The sources told our correspondent that if the need arises, Israel will ask for clarifications from the Americans regarding this issue.

Our correspondent also reports that on the basis of an assessment formed by the Foreign Ministry's research bodies, Husayn's speech constitutes a time-out in the contacts between the PLO and Jordan, and must not be seen as an absolute rift between Husayn and 'Arafat.

Bethlehem Mayor, Sanyurah Statements

TA192020 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2000 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj has said that King Husayn's speech has created a new situation in the Middle East. Interviewed by our correspondent Arye Gus, Frayj said that the Jordanian king's speech had been very dangerous and that he feared that those who would suffer from the inability of the Arabs to take action would be the inhabitants of the territories. The question now, Mr Frayj said, is whether the freeze will continue.

In the opinion of *AL-FAJR*'s editor, Hanna Sanyurah, the speech proves that the contacts between Jordan and the PLO and the United States have reached a deadend and that the political process is frozen. Mr Sanyurah said that King Husayn holds the PLO responsible for the situation but it is the United States that is actually responsible. Sanyurah was slated to be a member of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. He added that new approaches should be found now, such as an international conference without referring to UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

Further Details

TA201143 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Many Palestinian leaders in the territories reject the idea of entering peace negotiations without the PLO, after King Husayn said he would no longer coordinate his positions with Yasir 'Arafat. Jerry Cheslow reports:

[Begin recording] [Cheslow] The Palestinian leaders in the territories believe King Husayn's speech was aimed at them. However, most of the leaders say they are not willing to abandon the PLO for entering negotiations along with the king. The deposed mayor of Hebron, Mustafa al-Natshah, said that no Palestinian leader will accept an alternative to the PLO, and that the PLO demands that the United States recognize Palestinian self-determination were just. This view is shared by Hanna Sanyurah, editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper *AL-FAJR*, who is also a member of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation on Middle East negotiations.

Most of the East Jerusalem newspapers, which represent streams of Palestinian political thinking, reject the idea of seeking a solution without the PLO. The most strident is *AL-MITHAQ*, indentified with the Rejection Front groups. It terms King Husayn's speech last night a slap in the face to Yasir 'Arafat. But the paper says this was inevitable because 'Arafat was not pursuing true Palestinian interests in trying to negotiate.

Among the voices giving qualified support to King Husayn's speech was Bethlehem's Mayor Ilyas Frayj. He said Husayn was making the Palestinians face up to reality.

[Frayj — picked up in midsentence]....in place of no political talks or negotiations or what not. What is the future for the people in the West Bank? He asked these questions very clearly, and now today and tomorrow they will have to think it over, have to talk, to make up their minds between slogans and reality.

[Cheslow] The only leader willing to go on record as supporting the king's speech was Muhammad al-Nasir of the small Palestinian Democratic Movement. He said that if Husayn wants to enter the peace process, he will go along.

[Al-Nasir] The only way to achieve a stable peace is by the negotiations and with representatives of the Palestinian people will participate. We understand this and are willing to join King Husayn in the negotiations.

[Cheslow] Many other Palestinian leaders have refused to comment. One told me off the record: King Husayn is playing a dangerous game, when assassinations are often part of Palestinian politics. [end recording]

Further Reportage on Kidnapping of IDF Soldiers

Dozens Detained; Amal Mobilized

TA191300 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1252 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The UNIFIL headquarters reported a short while ago that the IDF has been carrying out searches for the missing since the morning hours, concentrating primarily in 10 villages outside the security strip. Thus far, dozens of inhabitants who are suspected of having carried out terrorist attacks in the security strip in the past have been detained. Our correspondent in the north, Menahem Horowitz, reports that Amal soldiers have declared a general mobilization of their forces, and Lebanese soldiers have reported that UNIFIL personnel have been taking action to preempt clashes between Amal soldiers and the IDF soldiers combing the area outside the security strip.

IDF-Amal Clash Preempted

TA191308 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpt] UN officers this morning prevented a violent clash between IDF units and fighters from the Shi'ite Amal militia. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports that approximately 250 armed Amal soldiers arrived in the area where the IDF soldiers were carrying out their searches and demanded that they clear the place. When the IDF troops refused, the UN officers intervened and evacuated the Amal men from the area, allowing the searches to continue.

4 'Terrorists' Killed

TA191809 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Four terrorists were killed near the village of Haris in southern Lebanon. The terrorists, who were members of the Hizballah group, were killed this afternoon in a clash with an IDF unit. Our forces did not sustain any casualties. This was announced by the IDF spokesman.

Search To Continue 20 Feb

TA200523 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] The IDF will continue its searches in southern Lebanon for the two missing soldiers, until their fate has been unequivocally determined. This was said by top military sources to our correspondent Shmu'el Tal. This morning IDF representatives will visit the homes of the kidnapped soldiers in order to update the families.

This morning the searches will continue in 16 Shi'ite villages in southern Lebanon. UNIFIL headquarters have reported that there is no change in the size of the forces conducting the searches. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht reports that the IDF soldiers have so far interrogated approximately 2,000 inhabitants. Most of them were freed after the interrogation, but several remain in detention. Among those interrogated are some prominant Shi'ite clerics who are known for their support of Hizballah. Their mosques were thoroughly searched.

Commander on Reported Execution

TA201211 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] There is still no confirmation of reports that one of the Israeli soldiers kidnapped in south Lebanon has been killed. Israeli military sources refused to comment on last night's statement from Beirut, claiming that one of the two soldiers kidnapped on Monday has been executed. In south Lebanon the search for the missing men goes on.

Israeli military sources say the Hizballah Shi'ite Muslims who carried out the attacks came from outside the area. Northern Front Commander General Ori Or told reporter Alan Ben-'Ami that there is still no hard evidence that the two Israelis have been taken out of the area, or that any of them are dead.

Shi'ite Leaders on Search

TA200712 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0700 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Heads of Shi'ite villages north of the security strip have informed IDF officers they cannot publicly support the searches for the two soldiers, but they will do whatever they can to help locate them. This is reported by our correspondent Hayim Hecht. So far the IDF soldiers have met little violent opposition to the searches. Shi'ite clerics in the area of Tyre and the Al-Zahrani called on their followers to take up arms and fight the IDF soldiers. The clerics denounced Amal leaders who, according to them, prevent attacks against the IDF soldiers.

Iraqi Pilots Training at U.S. Base in Turkey

TA191626 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 16 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] Baghdad — Iraqi pilots have been training since the beginning of the month at the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force base at Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey, according to the Turkish newspaper *AL-'AMAL AL-ISLAMI*. The paper, monitored by Itim, quoted sources in the Turkish Islamic Movement.

Turkish Foreign Ministry Issues Denial

TA191544 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1512 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Ankara, 19 Feb (AA) — A report which appeared in the foreign press regarding the training of Iraqi pilots at the Diyarbakir Rapid Deployment Force [RDF] base has been denied.

The Foreign Ministry has made the following statement in connection with the report titled "Iraqi Pilots at U.S. Base," which appeared at the Israeli *THE JERUSALEM POST* newspaper: An unfounded report has appeared at the 16 February issue of the *THE JERUSALEM POST* under the heading, "Iraqi Pilots at U.S. Base," concerning the training of Iraqi pilots at the RDF base in Diyarbakir [words indistinct]. There are no U.S. troops at the Turkish Armed Forces' airbase in Diyarbakir. This report is unfounded, unsubstantiated, and fabricated in all respects.

ALGERIA

Further Reportage on Tripartite Talks

Energy Minister Interviewed

LD182101 Algiers Domestic Service in French 1830 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Excerpts] Algeria, Iran and Libya call on all oil-exporting countries to widen their concerted action in order to stop the worsening of the oil market. This call follows the tripartite meeting in Algiers.

The Algerian-Libyan-Iranian meeting, with the participation of the ministers of foreign affairs, finance and energy, discussed the concern of these three countries which are faced with an unjustified worsening of the world oil market -- an open economic aggression. Within this context the three countries state that the situation currently prevailing in the world oil market, which has a negativeaffect on the economies of oil-exporting countries, is not the result of market forces but a consequence of planned strategy aimed at harming the oil-exporting countries and eroding the income needed for their economic and social development.

Algeria, Iran and Libya also consider that OPEC is not the only target; it also aims at depriving Third World countries from exericisng their sovereignty over their natural resources. For this reason Algeria, Iran and Libya call on other oil-exporting countries — whether or not they are be members of OPEC — to concerted, collective action.

Mr Belkacem Nabi [Algerian minister of energy, chemical and petroleum industries] was interviewed by an Algiers Radio correspondent:

[Begin recording][Nabi] I believe that the current oil situation is not only unjustifed, but also represents a worsening. It is in fact a worsening of the world oil market; it is a worsening of the terms of exchange; it is a collapse of oil prices. This is not justified either on an economic plane or on the energy plane proper. The three countries which met in Algeries had a second round of talks which enabled them to examine the current situation, their data, and viewpoints. They agreed that order must be restored on the world market, and to that effect they called on all the oil-exporting countries which, in one way or another, are concerned by the current collapse in the oil prices and, consequently, with the restoration of order and price levels on this same market, to act. How should this be done? I believe that it is quite clear that all countries which see their oil incomes melting like snow in the sun have the same concerns and anxieties, and are trying -- like Algeria -- to review what has happened since the last OPEC conference and, above all, to develop a certain range of actions to stop the worsening of the situation.

[Question] Could this lead to a meeting of an enlarged meeting of oil-exporting countries?

[Nabi] This could lead to a meeting of all oil-exporting countries, or of the majority of oil-exporting countries, because all countries are concerned with and interested in what is happening on the world oil market, even the countries with very high incomes. I do not believe it to be (?normal) behavior to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars daily from developing to rich countries, and I believe that all oil-exporting countries would like the current situation — which is exceptional in the history of OPEC and of oil, if one excludes what happened during the first world oil crisis — to end as soon as possible.

[Question] The association of [words indistinct] and ministers of finance of Iran, Algeria and Libya to the oil ministers' talks gives a wider dimension to the examination of the oil situation. What significance can one ascribe to this enlarging of the framework of the talks?

[Nabi] I think it suffices to refer to world press reports to know that the consequences of the brutal collapse of the oil prices have for a long time gone beyond the mere framework of the oil sector, and have in some cases dealt a direct blow to the economic and social development of all developing oil-exporting countries and, in some cases, of industrialized oil-exporting coutries.

[Question] What conditions need to be met in order to hold the next extraordinary OPEC meeting?

[Nabi] I believe that before speaking of an extraordinary conference one should know the agenda and the chances of success of this extraordinary conference. We should not forget that throughout 1985, oil prices were more or less near OPEC official prices. To be more precise, throughout the second half of 1985, oil prices consistently rose and improved and, in some cases, rose above OPEC official prices. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Ministers Issue Communique

LD182109 Algiers Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Communique issued by the tripartite Algerian-Iranian-Libyan ministerial meeting at the conclusion of the talks in Algiers on 18 February]

[Text] In light of the current situation in the oil market, which is characterized by instability resulting from the political pressures, a meeting was held in Algiers on 17 and 18 February 1986 by the foreign, oil and finance Ministers of Algeria, Libya and Iran as a continuation of the meeting of the oil ministers of the said states which was held in Tripoli during 3-5 February 1986.

The three delegations believe that the current situation prevailing in the oil market, which inflicts grave harm on the economy of the oil exporting countries, is not the result of the normal state of the market forces, but is due to a premeditated plan which aims to deprive these countries of the realization of their national achievements and to limit their revenues, which are necessary for their economic and social development.

In this connection, the three delegations express their profound concern and regret to the parties that participated in creating this deteriorating situation in prices. The three delegations believe that OPEC members are not the sole target of this strategy. This strategy is also aimed against all countries of the Third World to prevent them from exercising their legitimate rights over their natural resources.

In accordance with the organic statute of OPEC, the declaration of intent issued by the Algiers summit of 1975, and the OPEC resolutions of March 1983 and December 1984 -- which are still binding and in force, and which stipulate the defense of the price structure and the guaranteeing of regular revenues for them -- they call on all OPEC members to abide by them so that stability can be be restored to the oil market.

They believe that the only effective means for preserving the high interests of the oil-exporting countries lies in the defense of prices and in maintaining the purchasing power of oil. In affirmation of the importance of the role of the organization which has participated in the issues of development of its members and of the world economy, the three delegations believe that the unity of the organization calls for safeguarding the interests of all its members by adopting joint measures and refraining from taking any unilateral steps. They call on them to shoulder their responsibilities in bolstering the solidarity among themselves by pursuing joint measures. They urge the other oil states outside the organization whose economy was also affected by the current market situation to shoulder their responsibilities and join the organization in its efforts to restore stability to the oil market.

For this reason the OPEC members should abandon pursuing the oil pricing system linked to the prices of oil by-products, and refrain from exceeding the production quota — a matter which led to the creation of a glut in the international market and the deterioration of prices. The states should return to the adoption of the policy of official pricing and follow a suitable production program in accordance with the provisions of the March 1983 agreement so that the glut can be removed from the market. At a time when the three delegations reaffirm their support for and solidarity with the organization, they believe that the preservation of the organization's cohesion is very beneficial as far as the world economy and financial stability are concerned. In view of the gravity of the situation and in order that the measures necessary for restoring the stability of the oil market can be effected by condensed negotiations, they call on the other oil-exporting states to hold an urgent joint ministerial meeting for the adoption of the measures necessary for the realization of the above-mentioned objectives.

FLN Politburo Discusses Libya, Gulf War, Chad, Oil

LD192027 Algiers Domestic Service in French 1830 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] There was a meeting of the FLN party Politburo today chaired by President Chadli Bendjedid. The Politburo heard reports and examined certain regional and international issues, the latest developments of which are of direct concern to Algeria.

In this context, the Politburo assessed the efforts made by Algeria with a view to contributing to an improvement of the political situation in the region in order to hasten the process of establishing a united Maghreb.

The Politburo expressed satisfaction with the development of relations and cooperation with sisterly Tunisia and Mauritania as an expression of a common desire to give full effect to the treaty of fraternal relations and concord, to settle the problems of the region, and to build a united Maghreb ruled by harmony, entente, and collective prosperity. The Politburo also examined Algerian-Libyan relations and their development in light of recent meetings in Algiers and Tripoli, which resulted from the decisions of the summit which brought President Chadli Bendjedid and Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi together in Aim 'Amenas.

The Politburo also examined the serious developments and the distressing escalation of the Iraq-Iran conflict in light of Algeria's consistent position since the beginning of that conflict. Algeria reiterates its conviction that the fratricidal confrontation between Iraq and Iran serves neither of those two countries nor the region's stability and security, and even less the true cause that links them within the Arab-Muslim community. The Politburo once more insistently calls for an end to the shedding of Muslim blood and demanded that the two brother countries finally give up the use of arms as a means of settling their differences, which, regardless of their nature or magnitude, do not justify this war of disastrous dimensions. The Politburo also strongly calls on the brotherly countries of Iraq and Iran to join in a peaceful settlement of their differences with the courage and sense of responsibility. The Politburo states that a settlement must be based on the respect of the two states' territorial integrity and the return to the internationally established existing borders.

The Politburo examined the worsening situation in Chad and deplores the resumption of armed confrontation on that territory which has damaged attempts to promote national reconciliation and protect it from foreign interference and intervention. The Politburo reiterates Algeria's affirmation to the African settlement program regarding the Chad issue and stresses the need to avoid raising obstacles and preventing the implementation of this program. The Politburo reiterates Algeria's encouragement and support for the OAU chairman and the Congolese president in their efforts to successfully implement the noble mission entrusted to them by the OAU.

The Politburo finally examined the world oil market's negative course, as well as Algeria's current efforts to contribute to the necessary improvement of the situation together with all those concerned. In this context, the Politburo once more expresses its conviction that curbing these harmful developments involves reaffirming OPEC's values of solidarity, trust, and discipline which defend the vital economic interests of its members. The Politburo also reiterates the need for collective action to rectify oil prices in order to respond to the needs of the oil-exporting countries and also to the requirements of stability of the world economy. The Politburo also examined the meetings undertaken by Algeria to attain this objective and registers its satisfaction with the results of the tripartite meeting recently held in Algeria. The Politburo also reiterates the need for collective action as a means to restore oil prices [words indistinct] the development of the oil-exporting countries which ensures the world economy's stability. The Politburo also [words indistinct] and satisfactorily notes the results of the tripartite [words indistinct] in Algiers.

President Nominates New Slate of Vice Ministers
LD200300 Algiers APS in English 1010 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpts] Algiers, 19/02/86 (APS) — President Chadli Bendjedid undertook a reshuffle in the government. The posts of vice-minsiter in charge of electric and mechanical industries, vice-minister in charge of construction materials and vice-minister in charge of sports have been suppressed. The former holder's of those posts have been assigned new missions. The head of state further made the following nominations.

Mr. Mohamed Aberkane is appointed as vice-minister in charge of cooperation before the foreign affairs minister.
Mr. Mohamed Mazouni as vice-minister in charge of fisheries before the agriculture and fisheries minister.
Mr. Mohamed Salah Iemtouri as vice-minister in charge of tourism before the culture and tourism minister.
Mr. Yacine Fergani as vice-minister in charge of chemical and petrochemical industries before the minister of energy, chemical and petrochemical industries.
Mrs Leila Ettayeb as vice-minister in charge secondary and technical education to the minister of national education.
Mr. Aissa Abdelaoui as vice-minister in charge of environment and forestries to the minister of hydraulics, environment and forestries.

4 New Ministers Named
HK190434 Hong Kong AFP in English 0332 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Algiers, Feb 19 (AFP) — Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid reshuffled his cabinet for the third time in nine days Tuesday, naming four new ministers. They were:

Justice: Mohamed Cherif Kharroubi (formerly education minister);
Education: Mrs Zehour Duanici (formerly social welfare minister);
Religious affairs: Boualem Baki (formerly justice minister);
Heavy industry: Faycal Boudraa.

FLN Secretariat Reshuffled
LD191244 Algiers APS in English 1130 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Algiers, 19/02/86 (APS) — President Chadli Bendjedid reshuffled the structures of the C.C. Permanent Secretariat of the FLN party on Tuesday. Hence, besides the discipline commission presided over by Mohamed Abada and the Finance and Auditing Commission presided over by Mohamed Salah Launchi, the permanent Secretariat is made up of councils, sectors and departments. The councils are:

The Youth Higher Council;
The National Language Higher Council;
The Council of Friendship and Solidarity With Peoples.

The sectors are:

The sector of Organisation and Popular Assemblies;
The sector of Mass Organisations and Voluntary Work;
The sector of Information, Culture and Training;
The sector of Economic and Social Affairs;
The sector of External Relations.

President Chadli also appointed:

Abdelkrim Souissi at the head of the Youth Higher Council;
Mouloud Kassim Nait Balkacem at the head of the National Language Higher Council;
Sadek Zouaten at the head of the Council of Solidarity and Friendship With Peoples;
Salah Goudjil at the head of the Sector of Organisation and Popular Assemblies;
Mohamed Sbaa, at the head of sector of Mass Organisations and Voluntary Work;
Bachir Khaldoun, at the head of the sector of Information, Culture and Training;
Ahmed Ali Ghazali, at the head of the sector of Economic and social affairs;
Abderrezzak Bouhara at the head of the sector of External Relations.

The president of the republic made further nominations at the Presidency of the Republic:

Mr. Larbi Belkheir is appointed as cabinet director;
Mr. Mouloud Mahrouche as secretary general; and
Mr. Mohamed Saleh Mohammedi as secretary general of the government.

[Algiers APS in Arabic at 1530 GMT on 19 February reports on the restructuring of the FLN Central Committee Permanent Secretariat which adds: "The post of the official in charge of the FLN Permanent Secretariat, currently occupied by Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, does not appear on the list."]

LIBYA

Al-Qadhdhafi Receives Iranian Deputy Minister
LD191454 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1435 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Tripoli, 19 Feb (JANA) — The brother leader of the revolution received today Iran Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Besharati as the personal envoy of Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'. The Iranian envoy handed the brother leader a letter from the Iranian president.

Sudanese Minister Arrives, Cites U.S. 'Threats'
LD160005 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 15 Feb 86

[Text] Sudanese Minister of Energy, Industry, Minerals and Brother 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Uthman Musa, arrived in Tripoli this evening on a visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. Brother Musa stressed, in statement to a JANA correspondent, that the U.S. imperialist threats against the Libyan Arab people are threats aimed at the Arab people everywhere. The Sudanese minister lauded the Arab people's courageous stance in its confrontation with imperialism and Zionism and added that his visit to the Jamahiriyah falls within the framework of strengthening the two fraternal peoples' existing relations and following up what already has been agreed upon in the various fields of the two countries' cooperation.

VOGAH: U.S. Planning More Exercises in March

LD191613 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 1230 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Voice of the Revolutionary Committees]

[Text] Sources very close to the U.S. Ministry of War [as heard] have stated that the U.S. Administration, which decided to send a third aircraft carrier to the Mediterranean in order to reinforce the U.S. 6th Fleet, is intending to carry out new provocative maneuvers off the Libyan Arab shores at the beginning of March.

The spokesman of the U.S. Ministry of War added that the Libyan Air Force proved its existence during the provocative maneuvers that ended the day before yesterday. He added that the Libyan Air Force proved capable of more intensive activities: More than 140 aircraft made sorties in order to meet the aircraft carriers of the U.S. 6th Fleet, which were deployed off the Libyan Arab shores during these maneuvers.

Military Exercises in Mediterranean Concluded

LD191427 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1330 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] JANA has learned that the exercises by the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah Air Force, Navy and Air Defense Forces with live ammunition in the Mediterranean and outside the waters of the Gulf of Sidra ended last night. The Jamahiriyah Air Force, Navy and Air Defense Forces began their exercises with live ammunition in the Mediterranean at 1200 GMT 2 February.

JANA: France Pursues U.S. Policy in Chad

LD191646 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1330 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The spokesman for the U.S. State Department stated today that the U.S. Administration supports French military intervention in Chad. He described this intervention as strong, and said it is being carried out on behalf of Western nations. He pointed out that the United States is now rushing more aid to the clique of rebellion in Ndjamena.

The JANA editor has commented that it is not strange that such a statement is issued by the U.S. Administration. It is the logic of colonialism which is hostile to the freedom of the peoples in the world. And here is France, being run by a government that says it is socialist, which follows U.S. policy and echoes Reagan's imperialist policy. This contradicts what the French president himself had earlier declared, that is, that his country embraces the principle of noninterference and non-hostility to the freedom of the peoples. The editor wonders what is the difference between the revolutionaries in El Salvador, whose cause France claims to understand, and the Chadian people's cause? France's words conflict with its deeds.

The colonialist policy and the policies of interference, repression of peoples and their exploitation, are an established French policy in Africa, regardless of the inclinations of the government and the president at the Elysee. The living proof is the official French direct military and declared intervention against the will of the Chadian people -- this time with the support of U.S. imperialism.

Chadian POW's Cited on Food, Medicine Shortages

LD201047 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0810 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Bardai, 20 Feb (JANA) — A number of prisoners who have fallen into the hands of the Chadian GUNT [National Union Transition Government] forces during recent battles in the Oum Chalouba and (?Karkadio) regions emphasized that the rebel Habre has involved them in a losing war which harms Chadian unity and territorial integrity. They pointed out that they are suffering from an acute shortage of food and medicine.

The Chadian GUNT sources added that the prisoners confirmed the participation by French forces equipped with various weapons, including aircraft, on the side of the forces of the rebel Habre, whereas the prisoners, whose numbers have reached hundreds, denied the presence of any foreign forces fighting on the side of the Chadian GUNT forces.

MAURITANIA

Reportage on Presidential Foreign Visits

Comments on Paris Talks

LD182244 Nouakchott Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Excerpts] Colonel Maayouia Ould Sidi Ahmed Ould Taya, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation and head of state, returned this evening with his wife from France. At the airport his excellency the president made the following statement to the national press: I have returned from Paris where I took part in the conference of heads of French-speaking states. The work of the conference, in which states from the five continents were represented, was characterized by the will to hold frank and fruitful consultations to consider the interests of the peoples concerned. This conference gave me the opportunity to talk with various presidents on questions of interest to our country and theirs. I made a stopover in Morocco where I held talks with my brother King Hassan II on questions of mutual interest.

Departs for PRC

AB191552 Nouakchott Domestic Service in French 1430 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] His Excellency Colonel Maaouiya Sid' Ahmed Ould Taya, CMSN chairman and head of state, and his wife left Nouakchott this morning for Beijing. During his journey, the head of state will be accompanied by the following personalities: His Excellency Ahmed Ould Minnih, CMSN member and minister of foreign affairs and cooperation; [name and title indistinct]; His Excellency Mohamed Fadel Ould Dah, minister of water supply and energy; [name and title indistinct]; Mr Diagana Youssouf, Mauritanian ambassador to the People's Republic of China, [passage indistinct], and four journalists. [passage indistinct]

MOROCCO

Continuing Reportage on Visit of FRG Foreign Minister

Received by Prime Minister

LD141402 Rabat MAP in English 1237 GMT 14 Feb 86

[Text] Rabat, Feb 14 (MAP) — West German Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher currently on an official visit to Morocco was received here Thursday by Moroccan Premier Mohamed Karim Lamrani. During the meeting attended by several Moroccan Cabinet members, the two sides looked into bilateral relations in the economic, political and social fields, stressed the excellent cooperation ties between the two countries and expressed the mutual desire to have bilateral cooperation further enhanced.

While evoking the prospects for relations between Morocco and the European Economic Community (EEC), the Moroccan premier voiced the wish to see West Germany carry on traditional backing to Moroccan initiatives.

Moroccan concerns over the enlargement of the EEC were also evoked during the meeting Genscher had with Moroccan Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Minister Abdellatif Filali. The West German head of diplomacy expressed understanding for Moroccan concerns and stressed the necessity for more efforts to avoid hindering traditional flow of exchanges between the EEC and southern Mediterranean countries.

The two sides agreed on the need to further consolidate relations between Morocco and West Germany while Genscher expressed the readiness of his country to most [as received] its participation to Moroccan economic development. They also agreed on the necessity for a formula that could trigger negotiations in the Middle East while taking into consideration the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people acknowledged by West Germany since 1977.

Genscher also held [words indistinct] a work session with the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Moroccan House of Representatives and heads of Moroccan parliamentary groups. The two sides evoked the Moroccan democratic experience, the Moroccan Sahara question, the Palestinian problem, Moroccan-EEC relations, third world indebtedness and disarmament. Representatives of parliamentary groups took the floor to explain the true nature of the Sahara question saying it is a political problem between Morocco and Algeria which "uses its so-called Polisario to wage [war] against Morocco with a view to imposing its diktat on the countries in the region and wrestling access to the Atlantic". They also recalled the stages the decolonization of the Moroccan Sahara had gone through and underlined the fact that the so-called "Polisario" was created after the decolonization of the Western Sahara.

Genscher also took the floor at the end of the session to express admiration for Moroccan political structures and reiterated the wish of his country for a wider bilateral cooperation to be extended to every field. The head of West German diplomacy later attended a dinner reception offered in his honour by Moroccan Foreign and Cooperation Minister Abdellatif Filali.

Reportage on Visit of Hungarian Minister

Joint Trade Commission Set Up

LD181329 Rabat MAP in English 1200 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Rabat, Feb 18 (MAP) — Visiting Hungarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Gabor Nagy Monday [17 February] conferred with Moroccan Minister of Commerce and Industry Tahar Masmoudi. Talks centered on means of consolidating bilateral cooperation, mainly through boosting trade exchanges between the two countries.

During this meeting, the two sides decided to set up a joint trade commission in charge of reviewing certain clauses of trade agreements concluded between the two countries.

The Hungarian official had earlier conferred with Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Ahmed Cherkaoui, with whom he examined bilateral relations and international issues, mainly the Middle East crisis, the Iraqi-Iranian war and security in the Mediterranean.

Concludes Visit, Departs

LD191211 Rabat MAP in Arabic 0930 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Casablanca, 19 Feb (MAP) — Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy ended his working visit to Morocco yesterday which lasted 3 days.

Gabor Nagy stated on leaving Mohamed V International Airport in Casablanca that his discussions with the secretary of state for foreign affairs, Ahmed Cherkaoui, centered on international matters, the Middle East situation, and the Arab Maghreb region. He added that the views of the two countries on most international matters were identical or very close.

He pointed out that during this visit he acquainted himself with the basic elements of Moroccan foreign policy and its stance vis-a-vis the Sahara problem. The Hungarian deputy foreign minister also pointed out that only peaceful means can resolve the Sahara problem.

Gabor Nagy also mentioned that he and the minister of commerce and industry had discussed the possibility of developing bilateral relations, especially in the sphere of economic cooperation, pointing out that he perceived readiness on both sides to strengthen and deepen these relations.

SUDAN

Siwar al-Dhahab Inaugurates Project in Port Sudan

JN141538 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1450 GMT 14 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Khartoum, 14 Feb (SUNA) — General 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Hasan Siwar al-Dhahab, chairman of the Transitional Military Council, returned to Khartoum from Port Sudan this morning after a 2-day visit where he laid the cornerstone of the Suakin Port and opened the first and second stages of the development of the Port Sudan port. On this occasion his excellency delivered a speech yesterday, Thursday, in which he praised the efforts made to complete the first and second stages of modernizing the port which will have a positive effect on our national economy.

In his speech, Gen Siwar al-Dhahab touched on the regrettable incidents that have taken place recently in Port Sudan and the victims and destruction which resulted from these acts. He appealed to the citizens to follow democratic methods in resolving their differences.

Regarding the economic situation in the country, his excellency mentioned the challenges we are facing which we inherited from the defunct regime. He urged the citizens to double their efforts, abandon the strikes, and work in order to save the homeland.

In his speech, Gen Siwar al-Dhahab noted the escalating military operations in southern Sudan. He added that this serious situation should prompt all citizens to close ranks and support the Armed Forces in order to maintain the unity and safety of the one homeland.

With regard to the new Port Sudan airport project, Gen Siwar al-Dhahab announced in his speech that the Saudi Development Fund has agreed to finance it. He added that the cornerstone of this new airport will be laid in the near future. The cost of the new airport which the Saudi fund agreed to finance will be $27 million.

Trade Unions on TMC 'Conspiracy' Against People

JN191102 Khartoum SUNA in English 1020 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Khartoum, Feb 19 (SUNA) — The trade unions groups warned the Sudanese people against an internal conspiracy aimed at retaining the Transitional Military Council in power after April, 26. In a press statement released here yesterday the trade unions groups accused the TMC of violating April popular revolution and its charter by implementing the defunct May regime elements programme.

The trade unions groups urged all the trade unions and associations to hold its general assembly and to mobilize its membership to counter the conspiracy. The statement went on to say the TMC by rejecting the representation of new forces in the Constituent Assembly had sided with the enemies of the people and thus paving the way to abort democracy.

TUNISIA

Bourguiba Receives Chadian President's Envoy

LD191845 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text](Karoum Ahmed), the secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation and the special envoy of the Chadian president, Hissein Habre arrived in Tunis this afternoon with a message from the Chadian president to President Habib Bourguiba dealing with the latest developments in Chad.

He said that in view of a foreign country's aggression on Chad, it was natural that President Habre would inform his brother President Habib Bourguiba about the latest developments in the situation in Chad and receive his excellency's advice.

Replying to a question concerning the military situation in Chad, Karoum Ahmed that the situation on the front has settled down, though the government forces which have succeeded so far in repulsing all attacks against their positions, fear more attacks might be launched. He said that the Ndjamena airport, which was attacked last Monday, has now resumed operation and can accept huge aircraft despite heavy damage.

Essebsi Meets With French External Affairs Minister

LD190029 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1800 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Beji Caid Essebsi, accompanied by Shaykh Mas'ud, the Saudi Minister of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met in Paris today Mr Roland Dumas, French minister of external relations. They discussed the situation in the Middle East and the Gulf region. It is known that Tunisia and Saudi Arabia are members of the Arab seven-man committee set to end the Iraq-Iran war.

Reportage on Visit of FRG Foreign Minister

Arrives 14 Feb

LD142148 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT 14 Feb 86

[Text] Within the framework of an official visit which will last 2 days Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG deputy chancellor and minister of foreign affairs arrived in Tunis this afternoon. He expressed his gratitude for the warm welcome he received and his happiness about visiting Tunisia again — this country which is linked to Federal Germany by strong ties.

Meets With Bourguiba, Others

LD151316 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 15 Feb 86

[Text] At the republican palace in Carthage this morning, President Habib Bourgiba received Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and foreign minister of the FRG. Also attending the meeting were Mohamed Mzali, prime minister and interior minister; Mansour Skheiri, minister head of the Presidential Court; Beji Caid Essebsi, foreign minister; and the ambassadors of the two countries.

Following the meeting, Hans-Dietrich Genscher made this statement: I am very happy to have the opportunity to meet with President Habib Bourguiba whom we esteem, not only as leader of the Tunisian people but also as a friend of Germanany. I have expressed to President Bourguiba our great interest closer cooperation, particularly in the political and economic fields. We also attach great importance to the Tunisian leaders' assessment of the problems of the region.

Meets With Arab League's Klibi

LD151844 Hamburg DPA in German 1715 GMT 15 Feb 86

[Text] Tunis, 15 Feb (DPA) — Chedli Klibi, the secretary general of the Arab League, received the proposals of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the federal foreign minister, for a new involvement by the European Community in the Near East in a basically positive way. Genscher announced this to journalists here on Saturday afternoon after a conversation with the Arab politician. Klibi explained to Genscher that the League was now awaiting the final version of the European proposals and would discuss them in March.

The German ideas for a collaboration among the Europeans toward solving the Near Eastern conflict amount to the so-called "Troika" -- the current council chairman, his predecessor, and successor according to turn, speaking within the framework of the European-Arab dialogue with the Arab states about possibilities for the solution of the Near Eastern conflict and about combatting terrorism.

Genscher stressed at his press conference in Tunis, at the conclusion of his 3-day Maghreb trip that the EC demands issued in Venice continued to be valid. This applied above all to the realization of the right to self-determination for the Palestinians and the recognition of Israel's right to exist. Replying to questions from Arab journalists, Genscher said that the EC Venice declaration was in large part compatible with the declaration of the Arab summit meeting at Fes in 1982.

At the same time, the federal foreign minister referred to the fact that finding a peaceful solution in the Middle East had been rendered all the more difficult because, despite all efforts, the Arab countries have yet to come up with a unified point of view. He repeated that at the upcoming European-Arab talks, it should not only be a question of fighting terrorism but also its causes, to wit: the effecting of a peaceful solution to the Near Eastern conflict.

Concludes Visit, Departs

LD152245 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 15 Feb 86

[Text] The FRG foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, left Tunis this evening at the conclusion of an official visit to our country. Genscher was seen off at the airport by the minister of foreign affairs, Beji Caid Essebsi, and a number of the Foreign Ministry's senior officials.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Government Approves New Budget for 1986

AB191144 Bangui Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The CAR Government has just approved the finance bill which provides for the new budget for 1986. Jean-Louis Gervil Yambala, minister of state for economy and finance, briefed the national press on Monday on the budget and the changes which make it different from that of last year.

The budget totals 54,580,650,000 CFA francs, that is a 2-billion CFA increase over the 1985 budget. It includes two sections: the state operational budget totaling 36,436,650,000 CFA francs with 25 billion CFA francs for salaries and wages, including about 4 billion CFA francs to be paid in family allowances. The second section called extraordinary budget or capital amounts to 18.142 billion CFA francs [words indistinct]. It is an austerity budget as was the previous one. As Minister Yambala pointed out last Monday, the CAR [words indistinct] has begun to restore its financial equilibrium.

CHAD

Information Minister Says Situation Calm Throughout

AB191738 Paris AFP in English 1723 GMT 19 Feb 86

[By Jean-Claude Chapon]

[Excerpt] Ndjamena, Feb 19 (AFP) — Chad's pro-Western government today said the military situation was calm throughout the country, but warned that rebel forces and their Libyan allies were bolstering positions in the north after the arrival here of French fighter aircraft, troops and weapons.

Information Minister Mahamat Soumaila said there were no new reports of fighting in the country, but said the Libyans were "continuing to strengthen their positions in the north of Chad, particularly at Chicha, Faya Largeau and Fada." Libyan warplanes, he said, were "daily overflying positions held by government troops along the 16th parallel" — the southernmost limit set by France for the rebels' advance.

The airport in Ndjamena, meanwhile, was reopened to wide-bodied aircraft today after engineering teams finished repairing damage caused to the runway on Monday by a bomber identified by French officials as Libyan.

Ndjamena Airport Bomber Said To Come From Libya

AU201234 Paris AFP in English 1225 GMT 20 Feb 86

(Text) Paris, Feb 20 (AFP) — A Tupolev TU-22 bomber which attacked the airport at the Chadian capital of Ndjamena last Monday took off from an air base in southern Libya, a French Air Force general said today.

Tripoli has denied that the plane, which bombed the airport from a high altitude, closing it to commercial and heavy military traffic until yesterday, was Libyan, and said it belonged to the Libyan-backed rebels who hold the north of Chad.

General Bertrand Litre, a deputy chief of the general staff in charge of operations, said the plane could only have come from the base at Sebha in the south of Libya. France knew the Libyans' deployment schedule, he added.

Gen Litre was unable to confirm reports that the TU-22 had crashed before regaining its base. "We have not tried to find out, but with a range of 2,900 kilometres (1,900 miles) it would have been able to return to Sebha," he added.

The attack came 24 hours after a French raid that had been requested by the Ndjamena government on a Libyan-built rebel airbase in northern Chad.

The Ndjamena airport reopened to commercial traffic yesterday, and was reported able to receive even the largest transport planes.

GABON

Loan Agreement To Extend Airport Signed With France

AB182210 Paris AFP in French 1835 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Gabon and France today in Libreville signed a financial agreement aimed at helping to undertake extension work on the Leon M'ba Airport in the Gabonese capital. The extension work, which will be completed in 1987, is expected to cost Gabon 10 billion CFA francs (Fr200 million).

France has assigned to the Aid and Cooperation Fund (FAC) an amount of 300 million CFA francs (Fr6 million) to finance the supervision of the modernization projects.

The agreement, which was signed today between Michel Essongue, the Gabonese minister of civil aviation, and Pierre Dabezies, the French ambassador to Gabon, covers the first installment of 150 million CFA francs (Fr3 million).

ZAIRE

Mobutu Appoints Head of Special Presidential Corps

AB191615 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1448 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Kinshasa, 19 Feb (AZAP) — Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, MPR founding chairman and president of the Republic of Zaire, has appointed Col Nzimbi Ngale Kongo wa Basa commander of the Special Presidential Corps. This was contained in Ordinance No 86-069 of 13 February 1986 which was published today.

The Special Presidential Corps, which is under the command of the supreme commander of the Zairian Armed Forces, is in charge of ceremonial services and presidential security. This was contained in Ordinance No 86-068 of 13 February which was also published today.

AZAP Calls for Peace in Chad Through Reconciliation

AB191631 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1100 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Commentary: "Chad: Peace Through National Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kinshasa, 18 Feb (AZAP) — With the bombardment on Sunday of the Ouadi Doum (northeastern Chad) airfield by French Jaguar planes, and the reprisal by the Libyan Air Force, which bombed the runway of Ndjamena airport on Monday without causing much damage, the Chadian conflict has once more entered the limelight.

Nevertheless, this rise to the forefront by the French Army should not obliterate the fact that peace in Chad can only be achieved through the reconciliation of the Chadian factions, since it has been learned through experience that no solution can be found through fighting.

Receiving Colonel Alphonse Kotiga, commander in chief of the Codos (guerrillas) of southern Chad, in Ndjamena on Sunday, and who signed a reconciliation agreement in Libreville on Friday, President Hissein Habre pointed out the need for reconciliation, underlining the patriotism and exemplary nationalism of the Codos' leader.

Similarly, General Djibril Negue Djogo, president of the Chadian Democratic Front, who rallied behind the Ndjamena government last December, has just launched an appeal to Chadians living in exile to return to the country and contribute to strengthening national unity and reconstruction. According to Gen Djogo, the Chadian conflict has been generalized because Chadians have allowed themselves to be manipulated by foreigners.

This analysis of the situation made by the Chadian, and moreover, by a former opponent, and commander in chief of the Transitional National Union Government [GUNT] army, making him a pawn on the chessboard, is aimed at only one thing: dividing the Chadian people to prevent any reconciliation. [sentence as received]

The warring factions in Chad need to be aware of this situation and lay down their arms in order to prepare for negotiations with a view to achieving a peaceful settlement which would lead to long-lasting peace, and thus ensure the country's unity. The dynamic search for a national consensus must be pursued in order to enable these sons of Africa, who are fed up with war, to put the country back on the road of development, since the continuation of the conflict fueled by regional, ethnic, religious, and ideological differences constitutes a threat not only to Chad's existence, but also to that of neighboring countries.

France's support which through the Ouadi Doum raid, the dispatch of warplanes to Ndjamena, and the installation of a new military deterrent force is aimed at giving a strong warning to Tripoli, is indeed necessary to prevent the Libyan advance, through the intermediary of the GUNT, beyond the 16th parallel. But this is merely one stage in the long peace procedure in Chad. Paris' firmness in the face of the situation around the 16th parallel will certainly deter Libya from crossing the Red Line.

It is nevertheless certain that the beginning of an era of peace in Chad depends on negotiation between the Chadian brothers, so this must be encouraged. Too much blood has been spilled. Chad is now in need of rainwater to cultivate its land and feed its people. Most Chadian factions have understood this necessity and have been rallying behind the Ndjamena government as the days go by. It is a good gesture which may be confirmed in the days ahead; otherwise, all hope may be lost in Chad's future.

IVORY COAST

Abidjan Announces Resumption of Ties With USSR

AB201309 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1245 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Ivory Coast and the Soviet Union have resumed diplomatic relations. Following is the official communique testifying to the reestablishment of Ivorian-Soviet relations:

The Governments of the Republic of Ivory Coast and the Soviet Union, motivated by a common desire to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between their peoples, have decided to reestablish diplomatic relations as of today, Thursday 20 February 1986 and to resume as soon as possible activities in their embassies in each other's capital.

LIBERIA

Asylum for Duvalier Rejected 'At This Time'

AB192018 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2000 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] After careful study the government of Liberia has finally made up its mind to reject a request from the French government to it to grant political asylum to Jean-Claude Duvalier. We join Daniel McGhee for the details:

[Begin Mc Ghee recording] It has been announced in Monrovia that the government of Liberia has rejected a request to grant the ousted and deposed Haitian president, Jean-Claude Duvalier, political asylum. A foreign ministry press release today said that it regrets that it cannot grant this request at this time. [end recording]

NIGERIA

CONCORD on Problems Remaining in UK Relations

AB200711 Lagos Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 20 Feb 86

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Writing on relations between Nigeria and Britain, the *NATIONAL CONCORD* makes it clear that although there are signs of improvements, a number of knots still remain to be tied to ensure continuity of mutual cooperation. The paper regrets that the balance of trade between both countries still tips heavily in favor of Britain, in spite of the fact that Nigeria is, apart from South Africa, Britain's most important trading partner. The *CONCORD* says this and the question of fugitives amongst others, should be resolved.

Foreign Minister Interviewed on Mediation in Chad

MB191221 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 18 Feb 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] While Hissein Habre in N'djamena and Goukouni Oueddei's Libyan-backed rebels in the north of Chad argue about who is winning in the latest fighting and France pours in military aid for Habre, Nigeria is making another attempt to mediate. Nigeria's foreign minister, Bolaji Akinyemi, is off to Paris and Tripoli with some specific proposals to end the long drawn out conflict in Chad. On the line to Lagos, Rick Wells asked Mr Akinyemi what those proposals were:

[Begin recording] [Akinyemi] I cannot go into the details, of course. I mean the first is that, the real Chadian [word indistinct] must be around a conference table where a political solution could be found to the conflict. The second is that all non-Chadian forces really should leave Chad. I think that is a basic factor in whatever kind of agreement that one can work out. We succeeded before in Lagos in 1979 in getting all the Chadians round a conference table. We had to sign a document not only appointing a leader but laying down guidelines for governing their country. So, it is not an impossible task to do.

[Wells] You mention the previous initiative Nigeria was involved in Chad. Now in many ways that was a failure. Isn't there the danger that the same thing will happen again?

[Akinyemi] I would'nt call it a failure. I think that the 1979 agreement in Lagos did give Chad a broad-based government that was recognized by the OAU, so that is what I mean, that it is not an impossible task to do, I mean, the fact that government later on disintegrated is no justification for not trying again, especially since no solution seems to have worked in any case, whether it is through Nigerian agency or through any other agency. No solution has proved permanent.

[Wells] But don't you think, at the end of the line, it should be up to the country concerned to sort out its own problems?

[Akinyemi] Oh, yes, most defintely that is, but that is basic to our own attitude to Chad, that it is up to them to work out. But the situation where a civil war leads to a refugee influx into Nigeria where, you know, different aircrafts are bombing different parts of a country that is neighboring Nigeria, surely that is not a situation that Nigeria should ignore.

[Wells] When you meet Colonel Al-Qadhdhafi, will you be telling him to lay off?

[Akinyemi] I intend to discuss with him, I will express, our points of view to him and I will listen to his own points of view.

ANGOLA

Swedish Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Arrives

MB181419 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1200 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] The People's Republic of Angola and the Kingdom of Sweden are seeking to expand their relations of cooperation. After the visit to our country by Swedish Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl, a foreign trade delegation has been in Luanda since this morning. Joao Pedro has the details:

[Begin recording] [Pedro] Carl Johan Aberg, deputy minister of foreign trade with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, arrived in Luanda this morning to hold talks with the Angolan authorities in the field of trade. Carl Johan Aberg is accompanied by representatives of Swedish enterprises who will hold a series of talks with Angolan authorities and discuss matters in the framework of the existing relations between the two countries. Sweden is interested in developing [words indistinct] the economic, political, and trade relations with Angola and it is for this reason that we are here [words indistinct], said the Swedish deputy minsiter of foreign trade when speaking to the national media:

[Aberg in English, fading to Portuguese translation] My visit to Angola is to guide this Swedish trade delegation, representing (?12) Swedish companies. I could state that the (?Swedish Chamber of Commerce) is greatly interested in developing economic and trade relations with Angola. We are quite certain of the economic future of our two countries. There is a great deal of interest by the Swedish industrial sector in cooperation with Angola, and the visits by the energy minister and the deputy minister of foreign trade need to be seen in this perspective. Most of these companies are already represented in Angola and we hope that with this visit we will strengthen the existing links between Sweden and Angola. Such companies are involved in the assembly and delivery of trucks and construction.

[Pedro] It will be recalled that in the context of the relations between the two countries, Swedish Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl was in Luanda recently and held talks with Angolan authorities, particularly her counterpart Pedro de Castro van Dunem. She also met President of the Republic Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos. [end recording]

LESOTHO

New Government To Resume Ties With ROK

MB201222 Maseru Domestic Service in English
1130 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] The new Government of Lesotho, led by the chairman of the Military Council, His Excellency Major General Lekhanya, has announced that it has taken a decision to resume diplomatic relations with the ROK, known as South Korea, with effect from today, 20 February 1986.

The Government of the ROK has been notified of the decision through appropriate channels. It is understood that the ROK will open a residential mission in Maseru soon.

Diplomatic relations between Lesotho and the ROK were suspended by the previous Lesotho Government in June 1983.

Arrests of Three Former Ministers Revealed

MB191609 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 19 Feb 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Three former cabinet ministers under Chief Jonathan's regime in Lesotho are apparently in jail at the moment. It seems they were picked up 2 weeks after the military coup that toppled Chief Jonathan on 20 January and brought Major General Lekhanya to power, but their arrests and detentions have only just been revealed. On the line to Maseru, Julian Boudger asked journalist John Mukela who the detained ministers were.

[Begin recording] [Mukela] As far as we know, Desmond Sixishe the information and broadcasting minister in the former regime; Vincent Makhele, the foreign minister; Francis Matholaane, cooperatives and rural development; and then Ranthomeng Matete, who was Prime Minister Jonathan's private secretary. They have been picked up and have in fact been under detention for the past 2 weeks.

[Boudger] Well, what are they being charged with?

[Mukela] Well, no specific charges have as yet come out but it is of course known that these four were at the forefront of what was termed as the radical forces within the ruling Basotho National Party Youth League. Now that would seem to mean that they have been directly linked with the youth wing of the past regime and also, of course, there is the other element of them having been thought to have masterminded some sort of misappropriation of funds.

[Boudger] What evidence is there for misappropriation of funds?

[Mukela] Well, there have been reports, although unsubstantiated, and these have not at all been actually cleared by the government but the four were in fact found with sums of money which are unaccounted for. Some of this money was found in the roof of certain of these four and some of the money was in fact in mint condition, mint factory condition, unused, some was found — it is alleged — in the garden of one of these four, and this is of course a very serious accusation if it all is true.

[Boudger] What kind of quantities of money are we talking about here?

[Mukela] We are talking about several million maluti.

[Boudger] Now, you said that only these four are in detention. Does this mean that the rest of Chief Jonathan's ex-government has been cleared?

[Mukela] I wouldn't exactly say so. I do know for sure that the investigations into most of Chief Jonathan's former colleagues are still going on. I also do know that the inquiries will take quite some time to be concluded. These four have not yet been charged but I should believe that some sort of tribunal will be set up. [end recording]

MOZAMBIQUE

Armed Forces Kill 16 'Bandits' in Inhambane

MB191200 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The Mozambican forces, FPLM, in Inhambane Province have killed 16 armed bandits during operations carried out last Sunday in the localities of (Sitica) and Gotite, in the Morrumbene district. Our forces assaulted two bandit camps and captured 10 weapons, 16 cartridge clips, and other war materiel. This was revealed by our regional station in Inhambane citing the military command of that province.

New Railway Termed 'Act of Economic Warfare'

MB181726 Dakar PANA in English 1704 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Maputo, 18 Feb (AIM/PANA) — The new railway from Makapa in Swaziland to the South African town of Komatipoort is "another act of economic warfare by South Africa against Mozambique", a source in the Ministry of Ports, Railways and Shipping declared today to the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY (AIM).

The railway was built with South African finance, and provides an alternative route to the sea for traffic from the South African province of Transvaal, and perhaps also for some Swazi traffic. Using the new line, the South Africans can send goods from the Transvaal to the South African port of Richards Bay instead of the Mozambican port of Maputo.

The ministry spokesman told AIM that in the long term the new line could have major economic implications for Mozambique. "But currently it doesn't make much difference since South Africa is hardly sending anything through Maputo anyway", he added.

South Africa has steadily reduced its use of Maputo port since Mozambican independence in 1975, in breach of agreements stipulating that Maputo is the natural port for Transvaal traffic. Between 1974 and 1984, South African use of Maputo declined by 84 per cent. At its height, South African traffic passing through the port amounted to more than six million tonnes per year. The current figure is little more than a million tonnes.

AIM's source said, however, that he did not believe that the new line would affect Swaziland's use of Maputo.

SOUTH AFRICA

P.W. Botha Meeting With Church Leaders 'Confirmed'

MB201001 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1000 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 20, SAPA — A delegation of influential churchmen met President P.W. Botha in Cape Town today in an urgent mediation effort on the deteriorating situation in Alexandra near Johannesburg.

At least 22 people have died in violence in the troubled township this week.

The South African Council of Churches [SACC] delegation, including Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Beyers Naude, entered Tuynhuis, the president's residence in the city, at 11.15am, less than an hour after flying to Cape Town from Johannesburg.

The delegation requested the meeting yesterday but had not had a reply by this morning. We hope to see him today, Dr Naude, SACC general secretary, said when the delegation arrived at D.F. Malan Airport.

But a meeting was confirmed soon afterwards when Dr Naude telephoned President Botha's office from Dr Allan Boesak's office in Bellville South.

Bishop Manas Buthelezi and Mr Mke Beea, an Alexandra community leader, are also in the team that was met at the airport by Dr Boesak.

Dr Boesak and the Rev Lionel Louw, chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches, are to join the delegation to Mr Botha.

We have been told that 80 people have died so far. We have not confirmed this figure yet but we are concerned about the situation and want to see the state president, said Dr Naude.

Dr Boesak, who was refused permission to enter Alexandra yesterday, said the delegation was trying to see President Botha to press upon him the urgency of the situation related to Alexandra and the rest of the country.

Bishop Tutu said: We are prisoners of hope — and hope to see the state president. We hope he will realise we are not here for kicks. We are here because we believe the issue we want to discuss is urgent.

Botha 'Unable To See' Churchmen

MB201237 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1236 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 20, SAPA — A spokesman for the office of the state president confirmed this afternoon that a delegation of the SA Council of Churches [SACC] had arrived at Tuynhuis today seeking an appointment with President Botha, but that he had been unable to see them.

The spokesman said the president had asked the deputy minister of defence and of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and senior officials of his department to hold talks with the delegation and two hours of discussions had ensued.

The spokesman said that due to the short notice given by the delegation of their intended visit and the president's heavy schedule, it had not been possible for him to see them himself.

The delegation left Cape Town by air shortly after the talks, having cancelled a hastily called press conference at the airport. The delegation told waiting media they would be reporting back in Johannesburg before making any statement. There was no indication of what they had discussed with Mr Vlok.

The party comprised Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Beyers Naude, Dr Alan Boesak, Mr Mike Beea, chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of the SACC, and the Rev Lionel Louw, chairman of the Western Province Council of Churches.

They told pressmen at the airport in Cape Town that a conference would be held at Khotso House, the Council's Johannesburg headquarters, tomorrow aternoon.

Churchmen Meet With Vlok

MB201214 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] A top delegation of church officials has met with Deputy Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. The delegates had hoped to meet the state president but, as Patrick Cull reports, they were unable to see President Botha.

[Cull] The group, headed by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Manas Buthelezi, and Rev Beyers Naude, flew to Cape Town this morning, after asking for an urgent appointment with the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, to discuss the situation in the strife-torn townships. The group, however, were unable to see the president, but held prolonged talks with Mr Vlok at the state president's official residence, Tuinhuis. After the talks, Bishop Tutu said he was happy with the way things had gone.

Tutu, Naude, Boesak Urge Banks To Reject Reschedule

MB190923 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0922 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Feb 19, SAPA — Three leading South African clergyman have sent a letter to the country foreign debt mediator, Dr Fritz Leutwiler, calling on the banks involved to reject the debt rescheduling proposals unless the government resigns and is replaced by government responsive to the needs of all South Africans.

The clergymen — Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches — told an SACC Executive meeting yesterday they had jointly sent the letter to Dr Leutwiler "in their personal capacities" on February 8.

The letter reaffirmed a statement issued in October last year in which the clergymen "requested of the leading American banks that rescheduling of South Africa's debt should be made conditional upon the resignation of the present regime and its replacement by a government responsive to the needs of all South Africa's people."

The clergymen said they were aware that Dr Leutwiler would be presenting proposals in London tomorrow to South Africa's creditor banks "on the principle of take it or leave it."

"We have also noted the statements by Dr Leutwiler that the basis of his proposals would be the commitment of the present government to reform in South Africa."

They called on the banks involved in the rescheduling negotiations to reject the proposals and "to provide substance to such rejection in order to prevent further governmental stalling tactics.

"We propose that the banks should immediately 'freeze' all South African bank balances in their books, and refuse to effect any transfer instructions over these accounts. We also suggest that the banks should obtain court attachment of aircraft, ships and other South African assets, and apply the proceeds against South African indebtedness.

"In this respect, we agree with Dr Leutwiler's assessment that 'financial pressure will be more effective than economic sanctions' in bringing apartheid to its end.

"We trust that the banking community in the United States will concur that the crisis now confronting South Africa is a direct result of the government's political, financial and economic policies, and is proving destructive of their business interests."

The clergymen, who had not yet received a reply to their letter, said they "together with other church leaders, offer our services as facilitators to ensure the transfer of office to a government committed to the goal of democracy."

"We are of the view that such a government must involve the participation of recognised black leaders, and necessitates the immediate release of all political prisoners, the return of exiles and the lifting of banning orders on all banned political organisations," the letter to Dr Leutwiler said.

The letter said the clergymen recognised that "the technical implications of the debt rescheduling are beyond the sphere of our competence as religious leaders," but noted that "Dr Leutwiler's proposals are reportedly based upon unsubstantiated assurances of reform."

They had warned "on many occasions that the so-called reform process in South Africa is designed to entrench rather than abolish apartheid, and that it would aggravate the violence, injustice and hatred which afflicts our country."

The January 31 address to Parliament by the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, and the subsequent "no confidence" debate — including the resignation of the leader of the opposition, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert — had "regretfully" confirmed this judgment, they said.

"Any optimism concerning the government's real intentions has yet again been shown to be unfounded."

The clergymen said they hoped "that the future, post-apartheid South Africa will encourage the international financial community to resume its assistance towards the economic development of all the people of our land."

President's Council Discusses Reforms

MB191625 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1621 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Presidents Council, Feb 19, SAPA — One of the most significant changes taking place in South Africa was the "loosening-up" of social relations between black and white people, Mr F.G. Backman, a Labour Party member, told the President's Council [PC] today.

Speaking to a motion on unrest, introduced by the deputy leader of the PC, Mr Pen Kotze, Mr Backman said he was happy that the reforms taking place in South Africa were "real and relevant."

"There is nothing cosmetic about this. These reforms that are taking place have generated a force which not only creates demands for more reforms, but also for equality in all respects." The changes were for the better.

Referring to education, Mr Backman said that by removing racial barriers, parents would be given greater freedom in choosing with whom they wanted their children to associate.

"The new structures that will be created would be in keeping with the will of society," he said.

Mr Laurie Poorter, an NP [National Party] member of the committee for social affairs, said the present revolutionary climate in South Africa was the result of a well-organised campaign that had been raging for many years.

"The aim of those intent on causing an ungovernable situation is no secret to any of us nor to the authorities. Gradually over the last years, organisations such as the UDF [United Democratic Front] and their affiliates have been prospering in their task of undermining the good name of this country.

"They have done this with considerable support from agencies outside South Africa and in so doing, have caused doubts and anxieties. Their success has been further strengthened by the unbelievable anti-South African campaigns.

"If it were not for this distorted climate there would never have been a disinvestment campaign. Even if there were, it would have been laughed out of court.

"It now takes a visit from a serious investor to become acquainted with the true state of affairs in this country. Those that apply their judgment fairly and utilise their resources for real information don't plead for sanctions or disinvestment here," Mr Poorter said.

Mr J.G. Rennie, a PFP [Progressive Federal Party] member, said factors that culminate in unrest in 1984 included the raising of rents in black townships when unemployment was high. The government had also lost control of the economy since 1974 and blacks had been excluded from the tricameral Parliament.

The government was responsible for the "total onslaught" philosophy and resultant loss of confidence by investors in the late 1970's, the loss of jobs, and the resultant demands by us bankers for immediate repayment of loans.

The administration boards had also contributed to the unrest, Mr Rennie said.

It was significant that the same chief administrator was in control in Soweto in 1984 when there was relative calm in comparison to the Vaal. This man had also been administrator in the Vaal area in 1976. This demonstrated that sensitivity by the administrators could contain flammable situations.

"It does not surprise me that the development boards have virtually ceased to exist."

Mr Rennie said any shift to the right in government would "re-ignite tension." Only by removing apartheid laws could peace and calm return and police fulfil their proper role of protection in the community.

Mr D.P. de K. van Gend, an appointed member for the Cape Province, said the internal struggle for the upper hand between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress was another aspect of the unrest.

The struggle was to be seen in the bitter clashes between United Democratic Front supporters and AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] which, he said, acted as a front for the PAC.

Botha forces had one aim in mind: to destabilise the social order. "These forces imply the death of consensus politics."

Mr van Gend said there were may reasonable people who wanted to talk about the future of the country, but powers beyond their control prevented them.

"Only improved attitudes and channels of communication would isolate the radicals and allow a peaceful process to continue," Mr Van Gend said.

Mr I. Omar, the Solidarity representative, said people communicated on different channels in South Africa. When reforms were announced they had no effect because of the "different wavelengths" people were on. Referring to the tricameral system, he said: Any consensus sought within the parameters of a constitution that is not freely negotiated is deemed to be consent sought under duress."

Mrs Adrienne Koch, NP member for the Cape Province, said reform was never popular. Those who held power were happy with the power they had. Mrs Koch said she was in favour of scrapping apartheid and of equal opportunities but did not stand for socialism.

"We must stop throwing slogans around. We must stress that we want a civilized government."

The old slogan was "Would you let you daughter marry a kaffir" The new slogan was "Black president for South Africa."

Referring to the rightist and leftist propoganda onslaught on children in schools she said "Leave the children of this country alone."

President's Office Statement on Transcript Release

MB191329 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1236 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 19, SAPA — It was normal and accepted international practice that there should be a record of important conversations held by heads of state, the state president's office said in a statement issued here today.

The state president, Mr P.W. Botha, had always honoured the confidentiality of private conversations, as those who had spoken to him over many years could testify. The way in which Dr Slabbert had revealed the content of their talks and his interpretation thereof, confirmed the necessity for such a record.

The full statement said: "The state president conducts hundreds of audiences annually on a wide range of subjects and with a large number of internal and foreign individuals and groups."

"It is self-evident and it is normal and accepted international practice, that there should at times be a record of certain important discussions in order that the state president can be informed of what he and those he had spoken to had said.

"The content and the follow-up actions which may possibly follow such conversations, for instance, had to be determined by reference to the content of the conversations.

"The nature of the record differs at times. Sometimes it is a recording of the conversation, and sometimes written notes.

"The state president honours the confidentiality of private conversations at all times as those who have talked with him over many years can thoroughly testify.

"The conversation of November 25, 1985 with the former leader of the official opposition fell into the category of important conversations of which the content needed to be fully recorded.

"The manner in which Dr Slabbert revealed the fact of the conversation and his interpretation of its contenct, confirms the necessity to keep records of such discussions.

"It therefore has the additional advantage that should a partner in a conversation later unilaterally break its confidentiality, or attribute words to the state president, or publish misleading versions of the talks, the state president can put the issue into perspective."

Indians Concerned Over Vlok Statement on Unrest

MB191344 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1336 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Feb 19, SAPA — An incorrect claim by the deputy minister of law and order, Mr Adrian Vlok, that unrest in Alexandra was sparked by the shooting of an intruder in an Indian-owned shop endangered the lives of Indians in the area, the Wynberg Traders Association said today.

Mr E. Akoojee, chairman of the Wynberg Indian Traders Association, sent the following telegram in response to Mr Vlok's claim that unrest in the Alexandra area began when an intruder was shot by a nightwatchman at an Indian-owned shop.

"Your statement regarding Alexandra flareup refers. Serious factual error." [as received]

Jazz Supermarket in Kew, where a man was killed by the store security officer was owned by whites, not Indians, Mr Akajee said.

"Report having serious repercussion on the 200 Indian families living in the immediate area and endagers their lives," the telegram said.

"Kindly verify with local police in Alexandra and retract statement."

"Correction by SABC TV news and other news media essential.

The Indian community in Alexandra was "very worried" and had not opened their shops today, Mr Akoojee explained.

"We Indians have been trading in Wynberg for the last 60 to 70 years and we have had a very good relationship with the blacks here," Mr Akojee said.

He had asked a member of the local management committee to arrange for the matter to be taken up in Parliament.

"It's got to be settled as soon as possible," he said.

ANC Secretary General Departs for CPSU Congress

MB191845 Dakar PANA in English 1815 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Lusaka, 19 Feb (ZANA/PANA) — The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) has pledged to intensify the armed struggle until South Africa is liberated from the racist regime.

Secretary general of ANC Mr Alfred Nzo said in Lusaka today that many Africans were dying in South Africa through the aggression committed by the Pretoria regime.

Mr Nzo said this before departure for Moscow in the Soviet Union to attend the 27th Congress of the Communist Party. The secretary general said his delegation will use the congress to seek assistance from the Soviet Union to free South Africa from the racists.

He said the congress will be meeting in the background of an aggravated situation especially by the United States of America contrary to the peace imitiative being undertaken by the Soviet Union.

Transkei Assembly Elects Ndamase New President

MB191202 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] The National Assembly of Transkei has unanimously elected Paramount Chief Tutor Nyangelizwe Vulindlela Ndamase of western Pondoland as the new president of Transkei. He succeeds Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, who held the office since 1979.

Paramount Chief Ndamase, who is the third Transkeian president since independence in 1976, will be sworn into office in Umtata cathedral at 1100 tomorrow morning. After that he will address the nation at Independence Stadium in Umtata.

Paramount Chief Ndamase, who was nominated a member of the National Assembly, was born on 11 January 1921. He is the son of the late Paramount Chief Victor Photo of west Pondoland.

At a ceremony at the presidential palace this morning, President Matanzima said farewell to the Transkeian cabinet.

Transkei Defense Force To Get Airborne Capability

MB181615 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1607 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Mabopane, Feb 18, SAPA — Transkei's defence force will soon have the airborne capability to deal with any emergency, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima said yesterday. He was making his last official appearance as commander in chief of the armed forces before stepping down from the presidency this week.

President Matanzima announced that major works programmes had included the construction of two bases at Port St Johns, one in Maluti and one in Butterworth. The programme was also included in the expansion of the Umtat base, a school of infantry and an entire village for defence personnel.

President Matanzima said Transkei required a stable platform which would encourage and inspire foreign investors who were usually the foundation of any country's prosperity.

The president also thanked the outgoing commanding officer of the Transkei defence force, Gen Ron Reid-Daly, for what he had done to help train and build the force. He said Transkei soldiers should rally round the new head of the country's defence force, Gen Zondwa Mtirara.

Alexandra Death Toll Rises To 'At Least' 23

MB200815 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0754 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Johannesburg, Feb 20, SAPA — The death toll in Alexandra rose to at least 23 and possibly 27 according to residents, with the death in hospital of Mrs Johanna Hlubi, 82, who had earlier been set on fire at the height of the unrest after she was accused of being a witch. She died last night.

Today senior church leaders accompanied by the chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association [ACA] flew to Cape Town hoping for urgent consultations with, among others, the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Last night tension in the troubled township reached such alarming proportions tha Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr David Dalling, was called from his home to investigate allegations that police were conducting house raids and taking children.

In defiance of the "raid," groups of residents tried to get everybody to the local stadium so that "if they shoot one, they must shoot us all and if they arrest one, they must arrest us all."

Police denied any arrests took place. They assured Mr Dalling and a resident's delegation led by ACA chairman, Mr Mike Beea, security forces in Alexandra would keep a low profile.

People alleged at least three residents were arrested hours later. The arrests bring to at least 10 the number of people said to have been detained in the last 24 hours. Among them was Mr Linda Twala, one of the key figures behind Tuesday's huge meeting which restored relative calm to the township. Policemen living in the township were evacuated yesterday.

The ACA delegation and Mr Dalling were told by senior riot police officers it was possible people claiming they saw house raids actually saw the evacuation of the policemen.

The Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Manas Buthelezi, and Mr Beea are hoping to see Mr Louis le Grange and his deputy, Mr Adriaan Vlok, in their Cape Town offices today. The group would also brief the PFP on the situation in Alexandra.

For the fourth successive day today there was no schooling in the township as pupils said they would not attend classes until all their detained "comrades" were released.

Policeman Absolved From Blame in Student's Death

MB192028 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2021 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Paarl, Feb 19, SAPA — A police officer was today absolved from criminal blame by the Paarl magistrate in connection with the death of a university student during unrest last year.

Mr J.H.D. Rossouw absolved senior police officer Lt-Col Oosthuizen this afternoon after an inquest lasting two days. The inquest was held on Mr Adri Aaron Faas, an 18-year-old law student of the University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

Col W. Oosthuizen, chief of the CID [Criminal Investigations Division] at Paarl, said he fired a shot at youths who threw a burning rubbish bin in front of a police vehicle in Klein Drakenstein Road in Paarl on August 28. He said he had aimed low as he fired birdshot at the youths with a private single shot, single barrel shotgun, "a weapon less effective than official police weapons."

As he fired, however, Mr Faas bent down as if to pick something. He said it was unusual and exceptional for a person to die of a wound caused by birdshot. He had fired low to minimise injuries, he said.

Mr Roussow's verdict was that Mr Faas had died of a bullet wound which damaged the brain. He found that Col Oosthuizen had not committed an act or omission which made him liable for prosecution.

Police Use Teargas During Squatter Camp Unrest

MB191434 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1433 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Knysna, Feb 19, SAPA — Police used teargas and shotguns to disperse crowds during unrest at Witlokasie, a squatter camp at Concordia near Knysna. It was the first recorded incident of unrest in the township in the wave of disturbances nationally.

Police said today that violence broke out about 4pm yesterday when a bus and a private vehicle were set alight. Police are understood to have patrolled the area and about 9pm a police vehicle was stoned. Slight damage was caused and police used teargas to disperse the crowd.

According to police, at 10.15pm a private home was petrol-bombed and slightly damaged. About five minutes later police were stoned, apparently while on their way to the burning house. Teargas and shotgun fire were used to disperse the crowd, but police do not believe there were any injuries.

'Massive' Cleanup Operation in Guguletu

MB192020 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2019 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Cape Town, Feb 19, SAPA — A massive combined police and army swoop, described by police as a "clean-up operation", was launched in Guguletu today after police were fired at and several vehicles were stoned yesterday.

Heavily-armed troops, members of the SAP and railways police, manned two road blocks — one at the beginning of NY108 and the other at the junction of NY108 and Old Klipfontein Road. About 20 casspirs, buffles and police vans were involved in the operation and a police helicopter circled overhead.

Hundreds of troops and police lined NY108, thoroughly searching vehicles, pedestrians and some houses in the area.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said today: "I can confirm that a security force operation took part in a small part of Guguletu, in the area of NY108 and Klipfontein Road.

"The reason for the operation is the sporadic stone-throwing and petrol bomb attacks which have taken place over the last few days. It is a normal clean-up operation. Several hundred soldiers and police are involved in this combined operation, which began at 2pm today."

Violence Breaks Out in Mabopane 19 Feb

MB200940 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0938 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Excerpt] Pretoria, Feb 20, SAPA — Violence broke out in Mabopane yesterday after a week of calm in the area.

Two Bophuthatswana transport holdings buses were extensively damaged after they were stoned. Attempts to set them alight failed. The superintendent's offices were also gutted after being petrol-bombed.

Bophuthatswana police opened fired to disperse groups of youths who had earlier disrupted classes at schools. No injuries were reported.

In the afternoon the situation was quiet but tense in the township and police and the South African Defence Force continued to patrol the streets. It was not clear whether pupils would return to school today.

500 Rylands Pupils Boycott School, 'Scab' Teachers

MB192018 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2014 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Cape Town, Feb 19, SAPA — About 500 Rylands senior secondary pupils today refused to enter their classrooms in protest at the presence of 14 "scab" teachers who replaced 11 teachers dismissed by the Indian Department of Education and Culture last year.

About 11am two police vans arrived and a police video camera crew filmed the pupils as they sat in the schoolgrounds. Later, the pupils marched around the school building and the 14 teachers left after being advised to do so for their own safety, a source at the school said. A police spokesman said police had maintained a "low-profile" presence and did not enter the school premises.

A pupil spokesman said it was the first time this year that pupils held a full day protest outside classes and on school property. "Pupils met and were all in favour of this demonstration." He said senior pupils had refused to be taught by the "scabs" since the school year began and are demanding the reinstatement of the dismissed teachers.

Youth on Rampage Over Biko Statue by Randfontein

MB201150 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1150 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Randfontein, Feb 20, SAPA — Youths in Mohlakeng township, near Randfontein, went on the rampage early this morning after a statue of black consciousness leader Steve Biko was allegedly knocked off its pedestal by security forces last night.

Eyewitnesses said the statue — apparently a bust of Biko erected in a park in the township — was not damaged during the incident, which occurred at about 10pm.

The angry youths set fire to an administration board vehicle and overturned a tractor in the early hours of this morning, SAPA's correspondent reports.

A Mohlakeng resident, Mrs Jane Molefe, said security forces stormed into her house and accused her of knowing who was responsible for the burning of the vehicle. She said she and her daughter Hermina were taken to the Randfontein police station, where their names and addresses were taken. They were later released and taken home.

Police Issue Latest Unrest Situation Reports

Late 19 Feb

MB191735 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1731 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] Pretoria, Feb 19, SAPA — Following is situation report on unrest to 7pm:

"In Eden Park near Alberton a 14-year-old coloured female and an 11-year-old coloured boy sustained slight injuries when a Russian handgrenade detonated in their presence this afternoon. The handgrenade was picked up by one of the children and was presumed left in the area of the mobile police station in Eden Park where another handgrenade was hurled at police two days ago.

"The SAP would like to make an urgent appeal to members of the public, parents and children, to be on the look-out for this kind of thing. Suspicious objects should never be picked up by kids and should be reported to police immediately.

"Other unrest:

"Eastern Transvaal: Witbank. In Ackerville, a petrol bomb thrown at a private home. Extensive damage caused.

"Western Transvaal: Ikageng near Potchefstroom: A black male under 18 arrested after a stonethrowing attack on the SAP.

"Soweto (WWR [Witwatersrand]): Various incidents of looting and robbing of delivery vehicles took place. A 20-year-old black man was wounded and arrested by the SAP when a delivery vehicle was set alight.

"East Rand: Near Tembisa a delivery van set alight and two black males arrested by police after the incident.

"Port Natal: Stone throwing incidents at SAP occurred at Isipingo and KwaMashu. In Umlazi, a black male was arrested during a stone throwing incident at a school.

"Attridgeville near Pretoria: The burnt body of a black male was found by the SAP.

"In Mamelodi, also near Pretoria, a private vehicle was set alight."

End report.

Early 20 Feb

MB200613 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0607 GMT 20 Feb 86

[Text] Pretoria, Feb 20, SAPA — Here is the South African Police unrest report as at 8am February 20 issued by the SAP Public Relations Division in Pretoria.

"The following incidents of unrest were reported overnight:

"At Mitchells Plain, a number of buses and a police vehicle were stoned. Minor damage was caused.

"At Mohlakeng near Randfontein, a private vehicle was destroyed by arsonists.

"In Soweto (Witwatersrand), a bus, a number of private vehicles and a delivery vehicle were damaged by stonethrowers. In the same area, a delivery vehicle and a shop were looted.

"In Guguletu, a bus was stoned. Two black women were injured by the stonethrowers.

"At Munsieville, on the West Rand, a beerhall was extensively damaged by arsonists.

"At Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, a beerhall was extensively damaged by arsonists.

"At New Brighton, a black residential area near Steynsburg in the south-western cape, 2 private vehicles were damaged by stonethrowers and a SAP vehicle was petrol-bombed. A policeman was injured in this attack. The police dispersed the mob with birdshot seriously injuring a man.

"At Chesterville near Durban, a hut was set alight. Two black women died in the blaze."

Report ends.

WEEKLY MAIL's 14-20 Feb 'Apartheid Barometer'

MB170546 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL 14-20 Feb 86 p 4

["Apartheid Barometer"]

[Text] *1985 Detentions (Detainees Parents Support Committee [DPSC] figures)*

Security Detentions:

Where they took place:	1985	1984
Transvaal	262	420
Natal	100	67
Western Cape	197	7
Eastern Cape	75	96
Northern Cape	43	-
Orange Free State	49	5
Transkei	1848	407
Ciskei	99	123
Bophuthatswana	6	1
Venda	-	1
Places Unknown	958	22
Total	3637	1149

Legislation used:	1985	1984
Section 28, ISA	8	28
Section 29, ISA	406	280
Section 31, ISA	25	18
Section 50, ISA	1168	72
Homelands Legislation	1953	532
Unknown Legislation	77	219
Total	3637	1149

Targets of Detention	1985	1984
Scholars/students/teachers	27.0 %	50.7 %
Community/political workers	28.1 %	19.7 %
Trade unionists	3.4 %	4.4 %
Clergy and church workers	1.2 %	1.0 %
Journalists	2.2 %	0.6 %
Other/unidentified	38.1 %	23.6 %

According to the DPSC the prime targets were the leadership of the UDF [United Democratic Front] and its affiliates and the membership of COSAS [Congress of South African Students] up to the time of its banning.

Fate of known 1985 detaineees (with the exception of most of the Transkei detainees) on January 31, 1986:

	Numbers	Percentage Released Without Charge
Within 48 hours	70	7.9
After longer period		
Charged, awaiting trial	106	12.0
Charged and convicted	16	1.8
Died in detention	1	
Escaped from detention	3	
Still in detention	151	17.1
Transferred to emergency detention	74	8.4

So far about 60 percent of known 1985 detainees have been released without being charged and this figure is expected to rise in the coming months. Only 14.7 percent have been brought to court and 1.8 percent have been convicted.

Emergency detentions, 1985		
Transvaal	3117	42.3 %
Eastern Cape	3151	42.8 %
Western Cape	1093	14.9 %
Summary of detentions, 1985		
Under security legislation	3637	
Under emergency regulations	7361	
Total	10998	
Still in detention 31/1/86		
Under security legislation	294	
Under emergency regulations	335	
Total	629	
Emergency Detentions 21/7/85 - 6/2/86		
Number detained	7764	
Number released	7492	
Number still held	272	
Number detained 1/1 - 6/2	403	
Number detained 30/1 - 6/2	146	

Political Arrests

The DPSC estimates that about 25,000 people were arrested in 1985 on charges of public violence, arson, malicious damage to property, intimiation, terrorism, treason, etc, bringing the total number of detentions and political arrests to about 36,000. It had become an impossible task to record and monitor the progress of such trials, so there is no way of knowing how many of those arrested were brought to court and the outcome.

This week's list of banned books will appear in next week's barometer.

Press Examines Current Issues, Problems

[Editorial Report] **Reform Not To Please Outsiders**
Pretoria *DIE TRANSVALER* in Afrikaans on 18 February says in an editorial on page 14 that "the good news brought back by Foreign Minister Pik Botha following his talks with European leaders is that finally there are signs of recognition of the positive elements of the government's reform initiatives." The observation that European leaders are maintaining a 'wait-and-see' attitude can be interpreted as an indication that European leaders want to see how the state president's blueprint will be put into practive. "The 'wait-and-see' situation is equally a test for those European countries. The bottom line is that the reform process is not being initiated to please the outside world.

Language Change Blamed for School Failures

Johannesburg *DIE VADERLAND* in Afrikaans on 18 February says on page 4 that the high failure rate in black education is caused by changing the medium of instruction to English or Afrikaans in the fifth year. The Human Sciences Research Council says that students cannot master the new language at that stage, leading to a high failure rate, communication problems between student and teacher, and a high dropout rate.

Government Spending Rises

Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 18 February reports on page 1 that South African Government expenditures for January 1986 were 30 percent higher than in January 1985. "The cumulative expenditure in the first 10 months of this financial year is 23 percent above last year's spending levels." Figures published in the "Government Gazette" showed total spending at R26.68 billion. "Revenue figures are also comfortably ahead of last year's levels, so that it is unlikely that the deficit before borrowing will differ too much from the budgeted R2.97bn."

President Urged To Deliver Reforms

In an editorial on page 6 *BUSINESS DAY* comments on President P.W. Botha's promised reforms and notes: "At best — particularly since his damaging repudiation of Pik [Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha] — the President has done nothing more than buy SA a little more time." This may be important in terms of the bankers' meeting this week, but "P.W. must realise that he has to deliver — not merely doing what has already been promised, but also continuing with a programme of reform in the light of changing needs."

Statistics on Unrest Deaths

A report on page 4 of *THE STAR* in English on 19 February says unrest statistics released in Parliaemnt indicate police action has resulted in the death of at least 209 youths and the injury of 703 others. "Mr le Grange said 10 policemen had been prosecuted but none found guilty in connection with deaths during the urnest." The article also reports that Minister of Defense Magnus Malan "declined to give details on how many national servicemen were used in combating the unrest as he said the information could be misused by an organisation campaigning against military service."

Private Schools Admit 'Non-Whites'

A SAPA report on the same page says 143 out of 170 English-medium, private primary or high schools under the control of provincial education departments admitted 'non-white' pupils last year. PFP member Ken Andrew commented that the figures indicate "'the Government should grant all schools the right to decide for themselves who they want to admit.'"

Public 'Badly Informed'

"Unless the state of emergency was lifted soon, irreparable damage would be done to the public's right to know what was happening in South Africa, the editor of the *CAPE TIMES*, Mr Tony Heard," told an audience at the University of the Witwatersrand. A report on page 7 says Heard said "restrictions placed on the media by the Government had left the public badly informed."

Botha in 'World of Illusion'

Commenting on the transcripts of the conversation between President Botha and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert on 25 November, *THE STAR says on page 18 that Botha's comment that he has* 80 percent of whites behind him, "suggests Mr Botha is living in a dangerous world of illusion. No opinion poll since his coming to office has given his government 80 percent white support — let alone the 50 percent support among blacks he also claimed." It is also clear from the transcripts that Botha "emphatically repeated stipulations about whites retaining their own lifestyle, education, language, residential areas 'and the wealth (they have) accumulated.' These cast extra doubt on his reformist intentions."

Union Worker House Bombed

Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 19 February reports on page 2 that the house of Lekgoro Dau, branch organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union, was attacked with petrol bombs in Atteridgeville Tuesday. The report also says the Pretoria area committee of the United Democratic Front (UDF) has released a statement blaming the SADF and the police for the escalation of violence in the townships. "'The army and the police have become a law unto themselves. Apartheid agents are busy making our lives unbearable,'" the committee said. The statement urged all black policemen and councillors to resign.

ZAMBIA

Foreign Minister Receives GDR Deputy Minister

MB181957 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 18 Feb 86

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Professor Lameck Goma said today that Zambia fully supports the proposals by the Soviet Union to eliminate nuclear weapons from the face of the earth over a 15-year period before the end of the century. Speaking when visiting deputy foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, GDR, Gerd Koenig, called on him at his office today, Prof Goma said Zambia welcomes the Soviet move to eliminate the deadly weapons. He said to ensure that mankind is assured of peace and stability there is need to support all efforts in their disarmament. He commended the GDR for working with Zambia for peace and stability to bring a new and equitable international order.

Kaunda Calls on West To Put Pressure on RSA

MB191900 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 19 Feb 86

[Text] President Kaunda has called on the West again to act more and put pressure on Pretoria to avoid an explosion in southern Africa. The president said Zambia's call to the West to put pressure on South Africa to end apartheid does not mean that he is anti-West, but that the West has the means to do it. Dr Kaunda was speaking at State House when the deputy foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, Gerd Koenig, called on him. President Kaunda said if the Frontline States called on the Soviet Union to act in South Africa and it did so, the action would spark a third world war.

Mr Koenig said the German Democratic Republic is closely following developments taking place in southern Africa and stressed the need for cooperation to end it.

ZIMBABWE

SFRY Assembly President Arrives on Visit

MB170639 Harare Domestic Service in English
0400 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] The president of the Yugoslav Assembly, Comrade Ilijaz Kurtesi, arrived in Zimbabwe last night at the head of a high-powered delegation. The delegation, which is on a 5-day trip, includes six members of the Yugoslav parliament.

Receiving the team the speaker of the House of Assembly, Comrade Didymus Mutasa, said the visit follows the one he made to Yugoslavia last year. Comrade Mutasa added that the trip serves to strengthen existing relations which were forged during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle.

Comrade Mutasa said the Yugoslav Government is assisting Zimbabwe with the construction of dams in Mashonaland West and due to further Yugoslav assistance, Mutare Technical College is under construction.

In reply, Comrade Kurtesi commended Zimbabwe for its achievements since independence. The Yugoslav delegation will visit a number of places, including Hero's Acre, during its stay.

Information Minister Discusses Role in Mozambique

MB191703 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 19 Feb 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Zimbabwe forces have now been active in Mozambique in an offensive role against MNR guerrillas for some 8 months. According to the MNR, there are upwards of 12,000 Zimbabwean troops in Mozambique. Zimbabwe has of course had soldiers defending vital economic targets such as roads, railways, and oil pipelines for some time.

In Harare, BBC journalist Neville Arms talked to Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe's information minister, and asked him if the offensive role of Zimbabwe troops in Mozambique was part of a more general regional defense pact.

[Begin recording] [Shamuyarira] No, no, there is no defense alliance in the region. It's purely self-interest on our part to defend our pipeline, the road, and the railway that carries vital imports and exports to us from Beira to Mutare. It is in our interest to see that the bandits in Mozambique do not overrun that railway and, when we were asked by the Mozambican Government to assist them in patrolling the (?train), we readily agreed, but our presence there is purely for self-interest. When it appeared that the bandits were getting strong in the Tete Province, we were asked by the Mozambicans to go into a joint operation 2 months ago to flush them out and we did that.

[Arms] Are there areas that you might be willing to operate in if asked by the Mozambique Government?

[Shamuyarira] Well, that will be unlikely because the Mozambicans will not ask us to operate in areas in which our vital interests are not involved and we certainly want to restrict our involvement to the areas that are of national interest to Zimbabwe, namely the railway line to Beira.

[Arms] How many troops are there?

[Shamuyarira] We put in 4,000 troops at the beginning and we since increased them by another 1,000 and I think it is a total of about 5,000.

[Arms] It must be very costly for you to have to defend Zimbabwe from inside Mozambiqe. Do you feel that is what the MNR and South Africa want in order to weaken the Zimbabwe economy?

[Shamuyaria] Yes, we think that. That is part of the general strategy: to make our transport routes unsafe, push up the costs, but also, more importantly, to increase our dependence on South African routes because we have diversified our routes since independence and send more and more of our imports and exports goods through Mozambique, but the consistent attack of RENAMO bandits on the Chicuacuala railway line to Maputo put this line out of commission about 2 years ago and they then shifted their attention to the Beira line and, as I said earlier, we are defending that and obviously the cost — and this is what the South Africans want — but, more importantly also that we should continue using the South African routes, thereby increasing our dependence on them and we know recently what happened to Lesotho when the South Africans strangled that state by stopping goods coming up on the railway line and if we are dependent on the South African routes, we can then be vulnerable to attack by South Africa in the manner in which they attacked Lesotho. So it is a very important matter for us. [end recording]

Radio Truth: 'Hundreds' of ZNA Dying in Mozambique

MB181542 (Clandestine) Radio Truth in Ndebele
to Zimbabwe 1700 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] We greet you, dear listeners. In our program today, we wish to enlighten our listeners about the great danger facing our Zimbabwe National Army, ZNA, forces fighting in Mozambique. Radio Truth, the alert radio station that is listened to by the majority of Zimbabweans, is like a guard on a 24-hour shift. It can foresee events well before they happen, and today it is going to give you information about the great danger facing the ZNA troops in Mozambique.

From the very beginning, we insisted that our young men avoid conscription into the ZNA contingent bound for Mozambique. We advised each person to be on the lookout for coerced enlistment. However, if some persons did not heed our advice it is now their problem, because they are the ones who are going to get killed. On the other hand, as the war proceeds, the war deaths are the responsibility of the instigator of the war. Today, Radio Truth wants to inform the population about the impending danger. We hope that our message will be well received as we explain what Robert Mugabe is doing to lead the country into a mess.

Prior to the general elections of July 1985, Radio Truth urged Zimbabweans to withhold support from ZANU-PF, the party of the cock led by Robert Mugabe, because ZANU-PF officials had a strong urge to rekindle the flames of war, which would devour our brothers and sisters serving in the ZNA contingent deployed in Mozambique to prop up Samora Moises Machel's tottering regime. At that time, we also made it widely known to the public that the ZNA contingent service in Mozambique would be definitely wiped out by MNR forces, since our troops were engaged in a fight against the wishes and desires of the people of Mozambique.

After our announcements, we heard the top brass Robert Mugabe of ZANU-PF inform the public in quickly organized mass rallies that we at Radio Truth were telling lies. However, right now, the majority of the people in Zimbabwe have begun to realize on their own that Radio Truth did not lie about the upcoming events in Mozambique. Hundreds and hundreds of our brothers, our sons, in the ZNA have been killed in action in Mozambique. RENAMO, a party fighting against the heinous regime of Machel, has sent our boys to confused deaths. But Robert Mugabe and Ernest Kadungure strictly avoid making any press statement about the deaths of our soldiers in Mozambique. Occasionally, they will reveal to the press the names of senior commissioned officers killed in action in Mozambique. The names of junior officers and noncommisioned personnel killed in Mozambique are never made public.

In January this year, Major Judgemore Cheuka and Colonel Derick Fling Magama were killed by the MNR forces. Their deaths occurred after the helicopter in which they were flying had been shot down. Despite this, on 13 January Robert Mugabe publicly informed the nation that Maj Judgemore Cheuka and Col Derrick Flint had died in an accidental crash of their helicopter. Absolute lies! As proof that Mugabe was telling a lie, he never bothered to describe the details of the accident. The true story, dear listeners, is that these two commissioned officers were killed by RENAMO forces who had shot down their helicopter. Please disregard Mugabe's fables about the incident!

Dear listeners, there is an African idiom that says: To see once is to see twice. This means that a person must learn from experience. Robert Mugabe should have learned from the Cuban experience in Angola. UNITA is mauling those Cubans. However, Robert Mugabe is steadfast in his campaign to assist Mozambique militarily and so our brothers and sisters in the ZNA are pressed on to die in defense of a country that is not their own. Jose Eduardo dos Santos requested Cuban military assistance from President Fidel Castro of Cuba. He needed assistance against the UNITA forces. However, today the Cubans are dying like flies in Angola. The UNITA troops are crack shots. People are amazed at their expertise. President dos Santos is greatly worried about the UNITA onslaught. He spends sleepless nights over the issue. UNITA forces are shooting their way over many areas of Angola. Cubans are unable to leave the precincts of Luanda. UNITA forces are present at the very edge of that city. Upon arrival in Angola, the Cuban military officers assumed senior ranks in the army. The Cuban officers enjoy good salaries, but the children of Angola serving in the national army are being starved to death, paid a pittance!

Dear listeners, all the foregoing conditions are caused by the principles of Marxist-Leninist communism followed by Dos Santos. In Zimbabwe today there are many things that are unwanted by the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, but Robert Mugabe has forced the people to agree to his designs. Listeners, if you do not wish to be coerced into the communist society firmly pursued by Robert Mugabe and his party, please resign from ZANU-PF. To our people serving in the ZNA, we say: If you do not wish to go and die in some strange land in Mozambique, defending some confused issues, please help us by joining us to topple the Mugabe government. Mugabe's government rejoices at your needless death. Down with communism! Down with Marxist-Leninist socialism, greatly sought after by Robert Mugabe. Forward with the effort to uproot the government of ZANU-PF so we can enjoy true freedom in Zimbabwe!